

THE CHRISTIAN REVIEW.

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ARTICLE I.

PHILOSOPHICAL CHRISTIANITY.

Christianisme Experimental. Par ATHANASE COQUEREL.
Paris: 1847.

*Christianity in its Perfect Adaptation to the Mental, Moral,
and Spiritual Nature of Man.* By ATHANASE COQUEREL.
Translated by the Rev. D. DAWSON, A.M. London: 1847.

THE original and the translation of M. Coquerel's celebrated work on the Philosophy of Religion, for that is its proper title, appeared simultaneously in Paris and in London. The translation was made with the consent, and to some extent with the assistance of the author, who is nearly as well acquainted with English as with French. The Rev. D. Dawson, a Unitarian clergyman of London, is his personal friend, and published the work with his entire authorization; so that the translation may be regarded as an accurate transcript of the original. It lacks indeed the perfect transparency and elegant finish of the French edition. It not unfrequently betrays the peculiarities of the author's native idiom, and in some instances, fails to transfer his meaning with entire precision and fulness. As a whole, however, it gives a fair conception of the original work, and puts us in possession of the author's views on philosophy, theology and religion. The titles, it will be

perceived, differ somewhat, though that of the translation supplies a good idea of the character and aim of the work. By "Christianisme Experimental," M. Coquerel does not mean what in this country is understood by Experimental Christianity, or Experimental Religion — but Christianity as tested or proved by reason; in other words, Christianity vindicated by philosophy. The mind in its subjective states, powers and emotions, is taken as the basis of investigation, and M. Coquerel's object is to show, on philosophical or subjective grounds, that Christianity is "adapted to the mental, moral, and spiritual nature of man."

It is quite evident, however, that the author's peculiar system of philosophy underlies, and consequently modifies his theological views; so that his work, like some others of similar pretensions, is less a Philosophy of Religion, than a Religion of Philosophy; in other words, a Philosophical Religion. And as the term "philosophical" in all such connections simply means the philosophical or metaphysical notions of the author, the whole may be designated as M. Coquerel's views of Christianity, or M. Coquerel's philosophical estimate of Christianity. It will be conceded, we presume, that there is no common system of Philosophy, no metaphysical Method or Theory adopted by all, or acknowledged universally as genuine and authoritative. So that none of us are compelled to receive such philosophical religions, or philosophies of Christianity, as necessarily or probably true. The fact is, being in most instances mere human speculations, they are more likely to be false than true. At all events, they are almost certain to embody some errors and imperfections. We know of nothing so unsettled and variant as philosophical theories and speculations; and it is scarcely yet time for any man, however learned, or any body of men, however gifted, to give us a philosophy of religion, or a philosophical religion. Some good hints may be suggested upon the subject. The harmony of religion or of Christianity with the wants and tendencies of the human soul in many particulars may be pointed out; but a philosophy of religion, or a philosophical system of religion, is yet only a future possibility. The mind of man in its relations to the infinite and the eternal, above all, the mind of God, in its relations to created and dependent souls, is "a great deep" into which the angels desire to

look. We see its dim outline, so to speak — can make some slight excursions on its shores, — perhaps, in some calm and sunny weather, may adventure out upon its bosom ; but alas ! how little, even at the best, can we know of it, and what vast and undiscovered abysses lie wholly beyond our reach ! It is scarcely to be supposed that a single philosophical navigator, however skilful, can be capable of giving us its entire measure and geography ! “Who can by searching find out God ?” Who even by such searching can find out man ? And who therefore from such searching can give us the philosophy of religion ?

Doubtless there is a religion of philosophy, and there is also a philosophy of religion. But you must first know what religion is, before you can give its rationale or philosophy. In other words, you must first know not only man, but God. How is this to be attained ? By a priori reasoning on the nature of the soul, and the deduction thence of a subjective philosophy, which may further suggest the kind of religion which God should give to man ? Preposterous ! It cannot be done, and the constant failures of metaphysical speculators are a proof of it. God himself must give us a religion. He only knows man ; he only knows himself. Such a religion being given, and thoroughly understood, its harmony with our wants may be pointed out, so as to satisfy those whose souls' yearnings it has actually met. But this is a very different thing indeed from first constructing a subjective philosophy of the human mind, and making that a test or criterion of Christianity. For in such a case the narrow and necessarily imperfect speculation or philosophy of a single human mind, is made the basis of religion, and the measure of Christianity. By such a process we get a Christianity with a philosophical costume, but dwarfed and shrivelled to the dimensions of a single erring mind. The philosophy of the nineteenth century, not so wonderful in its wisdom after all, and perhaps much astray on the subject of the higher metaphysics, is actually substituted for the pure and perfect religion of the Son of God.

M. Coquerel's philosophical system, we should judge, is the eclecticism of Victor Cousin, a modification of the transcendental theories of Kant and Schilling. It doubtless contains elements of truth, and coincides in some particulars with the revelations of Christianity ; but, in our view, it is

absolutely inconsistent with it in others. Hence, applied to Christianity as a test, or as a modification, it makes what Lord Bacon calls *malesana admixtio*, a mischievous admixture of truth and error.* Upon the whole the truth may predominate in such a system. God, the soul, immortality, redemption, Christ as divine and human, regeneration, perfection and eternal glory, are admitted; and in some cases, beautifully and strikingly illustrated. But the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, the direct efficacy of prayer, expiation, justification by faith, sanctification by the Spirit, the everlasting destruction of the wicked, and some other doctrines and facts, are either denied or essentially modified. Instead of the clear, warm, life-like Gospel of Jesus Christ, we have a dim, cold, philosophical system, in our humble judgment, partly heathen and partly Christian. It contains some glorious truths and much fine conception, and for such a mind as M. Coquerel's, may possess some efficacy to transform and bless; but for the great body of believers, it would prove, we fear, anything but the power of God and the wisdom of God unto salvation.

M. Coquerel's work strikingly resembles Morell's "Philosophy of Religion," and is about as scriptural and satisfactory as that singular, and we are compelled to say, ill-judged and hasty production. It maintains upon the subject of inspiration, redemption, and the church, nearly the same sentiments. In some instances, indeed, it states them more clearly and satisfactorily, while in others it pushes them to a greater extreme. It appears to us a franker and abler work than Morell's, and upon the whole more scriptural, though based upon the same principles, and conducting to nearly the same results.

It is by no means a popular work, nor intended for general use. It is rather written, like Dr. Bushnell's Discourses, *ad clerum*, and every now and then reminds us of the notions of the Connecticut heresiarch. In some portions it is rather "hard to be understood," and has the benefit, like the speculations of Morell and Bushnell, of a certain profound obscurity. Upon the whole, it has that fashionable air of misty depth, so dear to a certain class in

*"Ex divinorum et humanorum malesana admixtione non solum educitur philosophia phantastica, sed etiam religio heretica."

the present day. It is intended to be unusually methodical, but the arrangement strikes us as imperfect and perplexed; as if the author had entangled himself in a labyrinth from which he had some difficulty in extricating himself. Still, M. Coquerel steps off unhesitatingly, announces his philosophical judgments oracularly, and "goes ahead" without conscious "let or hindrance." He has no hesitation — no doubt. His philosophical categories are given, and the rest follows as a matter of course! His speculative method, with its various entanglements, — obvious enough to the intelligent reader, though never acknowledged by himself, — gives to the work a somewhat dry and repulsive aspect, which will prevent its extensive circulation, not only in England and in this country, but even in France. Yet it is written with much ability, gives frequent indication of a lofty and comprehensive range of thought, abounds in learning, literary, philosophical and theological, and contains passages of great force and beauty. The natural vivacity and eloquence of the author discover themselves on many pages, and lend a peculiar charm to some of his arguments and illustrations. His occasional obscurity does not arise from any deficiency of expression, but rather from imperfect analysis and erroneous philosophy. Like all Frenchmen, he reasons rapidly, too rapidly for the truth; deals in startling hypotheses and striking sentiments, but never fails in facility, force and beauty of style.

But before we further characterize this work, we take leave to say a few words on the personal character and history of the author. M. Coquerel is one of the ablest and most eloquent of the French Protestant preachers, who number in all about five hundred, and entertain considerable diversity of opinion; some of them clinging to the evangelical doctrines of the old French Protestant Church, and others inclining more or less to the views of Arius and Socinus. He is one of three associate pastors who minister alternately at the Oratoire in Paris, a large and fashionable church near the Louvre, capable of containing over two thousand persons, and much frequented not only by the Parisians, but by intelligent foreigners, particularly English. It is at this church that the gifted and eloquent Adolphe Monod is accustomed to preach. Inferior perhaps to Coquerel as a mere orator, he is decidedly superior to him

as a preacher, being more simple, truthful, and earnest, and appealing with a more direct aim, and a more tender unction, to the hearts and consciences of his hearers. But M. Coquerel has occupied the pulpit in Paris for a long series of years, while A. Monod has done so only for a very short time, having been called from the theological school at Montauban, where he distinguished himself as a theological professor, to his present situation, some two years ago. His influence therefore is not so extensively felt as that of his more popular associate, who is, or has been, a member of the Assembly of Deputies, and an effective political orator, as well as preacher of the Gospel. His brother, Frederick Monod, an excellent evangelical preacher, as our readers are aware, has lately seceded from the French National Protestant Church, on account of its unwillingness to unite in an orthodox confession of faith. He complains of the loose and erroneous opinions prevalent in that body, and urges the necessity of a purer and more scriptural organization. Adolphe Monod, Grandpierre, and several other eminent evangelical clergymen, believed it to be their duty to remain in the National Church, hoping that it may gradually rise in purity and usefulness. They mourn the presence of error and the influence of a lax discipline, but believe that the good predominates over the bad. On the other hand, Coquerel glories in this diversity and freedom of opinion, and maintains that "substantial orthodoxy" prevails among all the pastors. "I am confident," he says, "that not one of us can be justly styled a Rationalist, in its genuine German sense. There is not one of us that does not consider the Scriptures as a positive revelation; not one of us who does not consider the sacraments with a deep religious awe; not one of us from whose pulpit do not continually descend into the minds of the congregation the doctrines that God is the Father of all;—Jesus Christ the only Redeemer;—man the prodigal son, incapable by his own merits of working out his way to his Creator;—*judgment* an inevitable account, and immortality a real existence." This language, though indefinite, will give an idea of the position held by Coquerel and many of his associates in respect to theological belief. They would be displeased, in all probability, to be called Socinians; they would not even admit that they were Arians. They would

prefer to be called liberal or enlightened Christians, who cling to the fundamental truths of the Gospel with a free, and perhaps heterodox construction. M. Coquerel, though of French origin, was brought up under the care of the gifted Helen Maria Williams, the friend of Clarkson and Wilberforce, of Southey, Wordsworth and Rogers, of Mrs. Barbauld and Mrs. Opie. On this account his education was at least half English. He was related to this distinguished and amiable woman through his mother, and became her adopted son. The family resided in Paris and attended the French Protestant Church under the care of Rabaut Monod, (father of the brothers Monod,) and Marron, whose place is now filled by Coquerel. "This intimacy," the latter tells us, "their encouragement, and, more than all, the constant example of domestic piety set at home, led me, when yet very young, to the determination of waiving the wide and brilliant prospect of various advancement which our family connections opened to us, during the Imperial Government, and of entering the Church; a determination for which ever since I have earnestly blessed the Almighty, even before affluence and influence disappeared in the tremendous change on the fall of the empire." He passed through the usual course of studies in the newly opened Protestant Academy at Montauban, and soon after leaving it, accepted a temporary call as minister of the French Protestant Church at Amsterdam. In that ancient city and under the influence of "Leyden scholarship," confessedly high, our author gave himself to intense and various study, the result of which was the production of an extensive and valuable work on Sacred Biography, "which is now on the desk of most of the ministers of France."

In 1830, M. Coquerel was called by the celebrated Cuvier, who as counsellor of the State and of the University was then at the head of the administration of Protestant affairs in France, to fill the place in his native city left vacant by the decease of the venerable Marron. He has acquired high celebrity in this important position as a sacred orator, and as a man of high literary and theological attainments. His appearance in the pulpit is dignified and impressive, his voice clear, flexible and sonorous, and his style of speaking vigorous, polished and eloquent. He holds, in regard to doctrinal belief, nearly the same relation

to the French Protestant Church that Channing at one time held to the Congregationalists of Massachusetts, or that Dr. Bushnell now holds to those in Connecticut. He endeavors to mingle reason and faith, without nicely determining the province of either; indulges himself in considerable latitude of creed, and earnestly maintains the union of church and state. While admitting the divinity of Christ in some modified sense, he rejects the Athanasian creed or the view of this subject as given in the thirty-nine Articles of the English Church, and adopted with slight modification by nearly every evangelical sect in Christendom; he makes little account of the atonement as a sacrifice of expiation, denies the plenary inspiration of the Scriptures, the doctrine of regeneration, or the new birth as ordinarily understood, the resurrection of the body in its ordinary and literal sense, and the final destruction of the wicked. Upon this last subject he is somewhat inconsistent, maintaining in one place the sentiment of the perpetuity of divergent moral states, and the consequent eternity of sin and its punishment; and yet in another, insisting on the final restoration of all men by means of Christianity.

His "Christianisme Experimental" assumes to be "a complete view of Christianity under the twofold aspect of reason and faith, of human knowledge and divine revelation; "the volume unfolds, if," says the author, "the labor answers the aim, a complete system of philosophy and of religion—the religion of the Gospel, such as I consider and believe it to be." He tells us that it is "the labor of his whole life, the summary of the long studies of thirty years spent in ministerial duties." It maintains the reality and authority of divine revelation, but insists, with the Unitarians, that the Scriptures are but the human and consequently imperfect record of that revelation; the redemption of man from a state of bondage to sin, and departure from God, by the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ, as at once human and divine; a return to God by this means on the part of the individual and of the race, a future invisible state, the resurrection of the righteous dead, and the life everlasting. He intimates that philosophy is "a lower sphere" than revelation; nevertheless it is quite evident that he admits nothing for revelation which does not square with his preconceived philosophy. His religious opinions are

modified by the teachings of the schools. It is "a complete exposition," (we quote his own language) "of the Christian faith, *expounded according to the spirit of the age*, written in its *own style*, and argued with its *own logic* ;" in a word, "a system of *modern orthodoxy*," according to Coquerel. His philosophy is less *objective* than *subjective*. It is drawn from the depths of the human spirit, and then applied as a criterion, perhaps we ought to say a solvent, to the *objective* revelations of the Bible. Hence he forms "a *subjective* creed, drawn out of man considered in himself as a complete being, as a *subject* existing apart from every other being in his inviolable individuality ; a creed drawn out of the realities of life, the realities of the Revelation, from the very depths of creation, from our nature, from God's nature, from the essence and spirit of Christianity." This is the somewhat pompous language in which the author describes his work, and will give a fair idea of its claims to the attention of calm and reverent inquirers after truth. He is very confident of its success, if not now, at least hereafter, announcing his convictions upon this point in the same oracular style that Dr. Bushnell has done in reference to his work. "The fate of this volume I neither attempt nor wish to foresee ; if it contains truth according to the Gospel of the Lord, even though the present generation put the volume aside, and close it with disdain, it will be re-opened in time ; the work must await its day : that day will come."

It may be conceded that so long as a system of human philosophy is based upon well-attested facts — facts of which all are conscious, and which therefore ought to be admitted by all, such a system must be coincident with Christianity, and throw light upon its nature and claims. But if Christianity is a system of absolute truth, communicated through selected instrumentalities by God himself ; and if on the ground of its obviously divine character we receive it as such, our principal business ought to be to ascertain its doctrines by a simple investigation of its records. Human philosophy must stand aside for a season, and when we have ascertained fully what the word of God teaches, what system of truth it reveals, then philosophy may draw near to admire its beauty and confirm its authority. Reason is the eye of the soul, and all that it can do is to receive the light of God streaming from the heavens. But must not

Christianity at first appeal to philosophy for a reception ? and is it not a vicious circle to maintain that we must receive it exclusively on its own merits, and then confirm it by philosophy ? No, certainly not ; for Christianity makes no appeal to philosophy as such, but to the living, palpitating spirit. She wears the stamp of truth on her own sacred brow ; she comes right home to the higher instincts, or, if you please, intuitions of the soul, and lodges herself in the depths of the heart, hungering and thirsting after righteousness. Then if logic demands her credentials, she displays them willingly, and proves that she has equal claims to admiration on the ground of her truthfulness as well as beauty. The philosophy of religion is an after-thought, and could not be possible if Christianity had not first established her reign in the human heart.

But does not Christianity appeal to investigation, simply as a historical fact, or an external institution, on the ground of which it may be received by rational beings ? Undoubtedly she has her evidences of an external kind which sometimes serve as an introduction to the reception of the truth ; but while the former are fair subjects of criticism, once admitted as genuine, Christianity itself comes, and on the ground of her own intrinsic power and beauty, claims admission to the heart, not for criticism however, but for cordial faith and love. The fact is, those external credentials, such as prophecies and miracles, merely call attention to vital Christianity, and make way for its reception as the life and joy of the soul. The great elements of the Gospel lying in the life and character of Christ, and consisting of love, purity, and pity boundless and unutterable, do not need to be proved by the forms of logic and reasoning. They are their own proof, and make instant way to every honest, earnest heart. The words of Christ, too, are vital and divine, and contain their own evidence. "The words that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life." Men do not prove the existence of the sun. They see it, they feel it. The philosophy of the sun, or the philosophy of light, comes afterwards. The philosophy is taken out of the light, not the light out of the philosophy. So here Christianity comes to us as light from God. Miracles and other external aids call attention to it. We open our eyes, and lo ! the light shineth in the darkness. Beholding here the glory of God

in the face of Jesus, we are changed into the same image from glory to glory, even as by the spirit of the Lord. Then if we choose to analyze the light, to divide it into its prismatic colors, and get a philosophy out of it, all well and good. But first to frame a philosophy from the structure of the eye or the structure of the mind, and apply it as a criterion to the light, or the truth of God, and under this process receive this and reject that, or perhaps modify the character of the whole, is at once unphilosophical and preposterous. The true method is as follows: — Given Christianity — or Christ as God manifest in the flesh — his sacrifice of atonement — his love boundless and free — his blood cleansing from all sin — his Spirit transforming the heart, and reconciling it to God — his resurrection, ascension and intercession — his universal reign, and his final judgment of the quick and the dead — given all these, with their kindred doctrines as revealed and authenticated in the sacred Scriptures and by the history of the Church, there may follow the philosophy of Christianity; a philosophy based upon the religion of the Son of God as a divine reality, vindicating its harmony with nature, with itself, and with the deepest instincts, the loftiest intuitions of the human soul.

But so long as we permit our philosophy or the philosophy of the age to modify our religion, we shall have a religion as imperfect and variant as the philosophy of the age, nay, as imperfect and variant as the individual notions and errors of narrow and changeable speculatists. Then Christianity will become "fluent" with a vengeance, and pass through as many changes and transmigrations as the soul of the Hindoo Brahma or the Burman Gaudama.

On the ground of these remarks, then, we shall be understood when we say that in M. Coquerel's "Christianisme Experimental" will be found just as much truth and as much error as his philosophical system happens to contain. All his peculiarities, good, bad, and indifferent, as a thinker, a preacher and a Christian are embodied here. And as we are bound to regard him neither as a model Christian, nor a model philosopher, we think it no uncharitableness to say, that while the truth predominates in his theory, error also shows its hideous front. We know this, not from any pre-conceived philosophy of our own, for to tell the honest truth,

we scarcely have such a system, nor from any favorite notions of theological belief, but simply because M. Coquerel's notions often conflict with the plain and pointed declarations of the Holy Scriptures. They conflict, for example, at certain points, with the views of the apostle Paul, who as plainly teaches the doctrine of a vicarious atonement, as that of the divine existence or the immortality of the soul.

But we have neither time nor space for a thorough review of this work, and especially for a refutation of its neological fancies. Neither do we deem this necessary. The work will be read in this country only by a few persons, and those fully competent to form their own opinions. Its impression out of France will be extremely slight and superficial, and we might as well leave its errors and infirmities to their own natural fate. We have great confidence in the permanent vitality and eventual triumph of the truth. Error has but a temporary, though noisy existence, and in due time dies a natural death!

It will be a more agreeable and useful task to notice some of the better results to which M. Coquerel has arrived, and make two or three quotations from some of his finer passages.

In the first place, then, it gives us great pleasure to say, that our author firmly rejects Pantheism, Pyrrhonism, and absolute spiritualism, so prevalent both in France and Germany. He has also defended revelation as real and authentic, and Christianity as supernatural and divine. It is with peculiar delight we find him conceding the real humanity, as well as the supreme divinity of Jesus Christ. Upon this subject, however, he gives no explanation; as the nature of Christ, in his judgment, is among the *reserved subjects* of divine revelation, and not therefore a matter for speculation. In this particular he is probably right. Upon this subject he says,

"What is the divine nature of Christ? He himself never speaks explicitly on the subject; he never makes any allusion to his birth; he never states *how he was born of God and came down from heaven*; he never gives any account of the manner in which he laid aside his earthly body in ascending to God; he presents himself and positively declares himself to be *Emanuel*; he assumes, in all its divine import, the unique title of *The Son*; but in the very passages in which his Divinity is most clearly expressed, the veil which covers the mystery of his nature is immediately let down, and the astonished look of faith sees nothing but Jesus."

Our author's views of *mystery* in general are exceedingly just and scriptural, as well as most felicitously expressed. It is on this ground, perhaps, that his substantial orthodoxy might be affirmed, and that he seems to rise so far superior to the shallow rationalism of mere Socinian belief. After showing that mystery involves only partial knowledge or obscurity; that it lies, in fact, on the necessary confines of our knowledge, where the known passes into the unknown, he adds :

" Hence, it follows that nothing is more reasonable than to acknowledge that reason has its limits.

" Hence, it follows besides, that mystery applies not to religion only, but is universal. There is a limit, not only to the extent of progress in religion, but on all the highways of knowledge. All knowledge terminates in a mystery; all human light is lost in obscurity; all human discourse arrives at a last word which is pronounced, and which supposes, necessitates and suggests another which cannot be pronounced. When an attempt is made to utter it, the wisest man merely stammers forth confused sounds.

" The light of religion thus leads to the very borders of the night of infinity.

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" God is the only intelligent being to whom nothing is mysterious, and to be astonished or indignant at meeting with mysteries, is to be astonished or indignant at not being God.

" The devil himself did not offer as a temptation to man all knowledge; he only promised him the knowledge of good and evil."

On the ground of these general views, M. Coquerel acknowledges the mystery of the incarnation, of the divinity of Christ, of inspiration, and some kindred topics. He limits indeed the mystery of inspiration, which he states with remarkable clearness and fulness, by free will, by individual reason, and by language, a mere hypothesis for which no adequate proof can be furnished. Indeed we have positive assurance that the *Scripture*, the writing or the language is (*Θεοπνευστος*) *God inspired*. And certainly it is just as easy to conceive of words or expression being inspired, as ideas or intuitions. Are not the one and the other indissolubly linked? "The words," says Jesus Christ, "that I speak unto you, they are spirit and they are life." The inspiration here need not be mechanical, but vital. Nay, more, it may be back of the words, and thus admit of variety of expression. A clear state of mind expresses itself in a clear and adequate manner. An inspired mind would naturally

speak and write in inspired words. The clearness and exaltation of the God-moved soul would utter itself in God-moved words. But there is a mystery here, which we need not explain. Sufficient for us to know that the Scripture is the word of God, in some sense,—in a sense at least that authorizes us to rely upon it as authoritative and divine. In another sense indeed it is human, but in no such sense as destroys its authority and divinity. If this stamps upon it individual peculiarities, it is only as a matter of costume and coloring. The substantial verity and authority remains. Just as a musician might play through a variety of instruments, the flute, the bugle, the clarionet, with different tones, yet with the same spirit and mastery, nay, with the very same melody or tune. But upon this subject, so poorly understood, and demanding a volume for its elucidation, we must forbear.

It will be interesting to our readers as Baptists to know, that M. Coquerel, who is certainly quite liberal and independent in his views, takes decidedly Baptist ground on the question touching the proper subjects of baptism. How he would harmonize his views with his practice, as a minister of a Pedobaptist church, we know not. In a note to Book 6th he says :

"The moral liberty of Christianity is conspicuously shown, by the way in which baptism was administered by the ministers of the primitive church. 'Then they that gladly received the word, (who were convinced by the preaching of St. Peter) were baptized.' Acts 2:41. 'But when they believed Philip preaching the things concerning the kingdom of God, and the name of Jesus Christ, they were baptized, both men and women.' And they were Samaritans who are here spoken of, 8:12. The case is the same in all the instances of baptism related in the New Testament; the conditions of admission are all spiritual, individual, subjective; and the new believer had always a right to use the language employed by the officer of Queen Candace:—'What doth hinder me to be baptized?' The question of the proselyte is as characteristic of Christian liberty as the answer of Philip:—'If thou believest with all thine heart, thou mayest.' The Ethiopian answered, and said: 'I believe that Jesus Christ is the son of God,' 8:36, 37. And he was immediately baptized."

M. Coquerel's views on the future judgment, the resurrection of the dead, heaven and hell, are essentially modified by his philosophical views. For example, he adopts the Kantian theory, that *space* and *time* are forms of the understanding, and consequently exist only in the mind, having nothing

without corresponding to their nature. Hence he denies the resurrection of the body, properly speaking, the general judgment as an outward, local event, and maintains that heaven and hell are not places, but conditions of being. He thus leaves the entire future utterly indefinite, and yet he speaks well and beautifully of judgment as a spiritual reality, and of heaven as a state of infinite and endless perfection. But he insists on the final restoration of all men, on grounds purely philosophical or subjective. He endeavors, indeed, to confirm his philosophical argument by citations from the Scriptures, but without success. The *destruction*, not the restoration of the wicked is a doctrine plainly and pointedly taught in every part of the word of God. Nay, it seems necessarily to flow from certain positions laid down by M. Coquerel himself in the earlier part of his work. He says, with fine precision both of logic and of language, (pp. 31, 32, Trans. :)

“ The alternative of the moral powers is good or evil.

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“ Again, the moral powers can never cease to be ameliorated or corrupted; neither good nor evil have any bounds.

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“ It is inevitable, it is necessary that these alternatives should be indefinite, unlimited, without a measure capable of calculation, without a barrier which can be reached; because they terminate in the infinite, they tend and struggle thitherward; they are incessantly led back thither.

“ God is an infinite being; he possesses knowledge, holiness, love, infinite happiness; his creatures may in their knowledge continually approximate to his, in their holiness to his holiness, in their love to that which he feels, and in their happiness to that which he enjoys, without ever attaining unto them. For, to whatever point of exaltation creatures may reach in their progress towards God, there still remains more to accomplish;—after Sinai, Calvary; after Calvary, Mount Tabor; after Mount Tabor, the heavens; and St. Paul was lost to reckon them.

“ And as faculties have the same power of action, whatever alternative they take, it follows that the evil paths are as long, as indeterminate, as immeasurable as the good; it follows that creatures may forever more and more depart from God.

“ This double possibility is involved in the principle that the abuse may be equal to the use.”

This striking passage seems to involve a positive contradiction of the ground assumed at the close of the volume touching the restoration of the wicked. But the latter is

inferred by our author, on the assumption of three distinct and unfounded hypotheses: first, that Christ saves *the race*; in other words, that the object of Christ's mission is to save *the race as such*; secondly, that punishment is intended ever to be *reformatory* and not simply *punitive*; and thirdly, that punishment is not only intended to have this effect, but will *actually produce it* in the world of spirits. But how evident is it that men are saved not as masses or as a race, but as individuals; how evident too that in the cases of final impenitence, as well as of final perseverance in holiness, moral states are permanent and eternal; and how evident finally that "these shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal." Would that M. Coquerel had carried out the great fact and principle of the possible eternal divergence of moral states, and thus saved himself from the fatal necessity of contradicting the word of God. But this only furnishes a striking and mournful proof of the manner in which an imperfect human philosophy will bewilder a noble and gifted mind, and obscure to his vision the plainest teachings of divine revelation.

R. T.

ARTICLE II.

HISTORY OF BAPTIST MISSIONS.

A History of American Baptist Missions in Asia, Africa, Europe and North America. By WILLIAM GAMMELL, A. M., Professor in Brown University. With Maps and an Appendix. Boston: Gould, Kendall & Lincoln, pp. 359.

It is with great pleasure that we introduce this work to the readers of the Review. One of the kind has long been felt to be needed, and yet we hardly dared to hope that it could be furnished in such a manner as to give general satisfaction to the denomination. It is natural for us all to have individual preferences, and consequently to look at great movements from different points of observation. Thus to one mind, while glancing over the various missionary stations under the patronage of the Board, some particular one will seem to as-

sume preëminent importance and interest; while to another mind, differently situated and influenced, another station will appear to demand the most earnest regards of those who guide the enterprise. This diversity of interest in the various stations under the care of the Board, while it may have a decidedly beneficial influence in enlisting the sympathies and prayers of Christians, and in calling out their contributions for their support, must render the preparation of a history such that all will be satisfied with it, a work of much toil and anxiety. The writer of such a work must be a man of large views and comprehensive judgment. Professor Gammell has succeeded in this respect beyond what could have been reasonably anticipated. In reading his work, we feel that he has confined himself to the narration of facts, connected with each station, of the most interesting character, and left those facts to exert their own influence upon the mind of each reader of his history. All will therefore accord to him the meed of impartiality, while each reader will feel a deeper interest in the great work of giving the bread of life to the heathen.

We have noticed a few inaccuracies in the work, most of them, doubtless, typographical errors, while in a few cases we could have desired that the author had been a little more particular in his statement of facts and giving of dates. Although, for instance, we are informed when Dr. Price and his wife were appointed missionaries of the Board, and of the time of their arrival at Rangoon, yet we are left in ignorance of the country or State from which they came, and of all the circumstances that led them to embark in the cause of missions. The same is true with reference to a few other missionaries. Sometimes the date of a particular event is not so clearly given as to render it unnecessary to recur back to the preceding pages to ascertain it. This is the case in regard to the death of Mr. Boardman, and the subsequent marriage of his widow with Dr. Judson. But there are only a few such omissions, and those not of sufficient consequence to mar the general interest we feel in reading the narrative. The work is got up in the usual good style of its enterprising publishers, and, we are happy to add, has had a rapid sale.

But it is proposed in calling attention to this work, more particularly to trace the providences of God in establishing, directing and sustaining American Baptist Missions. The

work of missions has very appropriately been styled, "The Glory of the Age," and no attentive reader of this history will fail to perceive that God has so ordered the events connected with our missions as to make that glory peculiarly his own. Early in the present century, the leading minds among the Baptists in this country had turned their attention to the work of home missions. The members of the denomination were not numerous, and rarely was any of them to be found among the opulent or influential. Our country presented a wide and destitute field, inviting and encouraging the toil of those who possessed sufficient self-denial to enter it. Struggling as they were with poverty and reproach, it is not strange that they did not feel themselves specially called upon to enter the foreign field. They felt that all their energies could best and most profitably be spent at home. With commendable zeal they had entered upon the work of home evangelization, and already had they commenced to reap a rich harvest. Revivals of religion were promoted by their missionaries, and numerous churches were springing up among the frontier settlements. In the following extract Prof. Gammell has most truthfully and eloquently sketched their condition and character.

"The Baptist churches, at this period, were comparatively few in number, and, save in the leading cities, they seldom comprised members of the wealthier classes of society. They had struggled into existence amid many difficulties, and, though scattered over a wide extent of territory and numbering many communicants, they were yet but poorly supplied with ministers or even with suitable places of public worship. In these circumstances their attention was seldom diverted from their own wants as a denomination, and their sympathy had scarcely at all been enlisted in behalf of heathen nations. Whatever Christian effort they could put forth, was naturally directed to the supply of their own scattered and destitute brethren, or, at the farthest, to sending occasional preachers to the Indian tribes that then skirted the frontiers of most even of our oldest States."

But the providence of God was preparing them by these efforts to enter into a more extended field of missionary labor. The missions of our English brethren in the East were at this time attracting considerable attention, and much interest was felt by some of the churches in their prosperity. The dark veil which hitherto had hung over heathen nations was beginning to be removed, and Christians began to open their eyes upon their degradation and misery. The appeals made

by Carey and his fellow laborers were heard on these far-off western shores, and Christian hearts were moved to pity, and incited to effort. Societies were formed and contributions made in aid of their benevolent designs. It was thus that an interest in foreign missions was awakened among the Baptist churches of this country, and their hearts and sympathies enlisted in their behalf. For reasons which have already been stated, they did not contemplate any independent action of their own. The most that they could do, as they thought, was to contribute something to the support of those already established by our English brethren. God, however, had other purposes to accomplish, and by his providence was about to open before them a door of entrance to the heathen which they would not dare to shut, and to furnish them with a laborer whom they could not refuse. No one can fail to recognize the hand of God in furnishing our first missionary to the heathen. He had been brought up and educated in another communion, in which also he was regarded as the pioneer missionary—having been foremost in devising plans, and most energetic in carrying them forward, for the promotion of the one great object of his life, that of giving the gospel to the heathen. He was a man of superior education and talents,—of indomitable energy and perseverance. With his companion, no less distinguished than himself, he left our shores with the noble design of rearing the standard of the cross upon the dark shores of benighted Burmah. He was aware that he had been preceded in this work by the English Baptist Missionaries, and that their coöperation and sympathy would be very desirable, if not indispensable to his success. During his voyage he turned his attention to a candid examination of their sentiments, which ended in the conviction that they were true and scriptural. He embraced them, as did also his companion, with a hearty good will, and then threw himself upon the churches of his native land, to whose faith he had become a convert, for support and sympathy in prosecuting his work. Professor Gammell refers to this change of sentiments in Mr. and Mrs. Judson and Mr. Rice, in the following very appropriate language:—

“It was during his long passage across the Atlantic and Indian Oceans, and while engaged in the critical study and the translation of the Scriptures, that the views of Mr. Judson, on the question of bap-

tism, underwent the change which has had so important a bearing on the course of his subsequent life, and on the history of American Missions. While thus removed from the controversies of men, amid the trackless solitudes of the ocean, and specially occupied in the earnest study of the Word of God, he adopted the belief that none but professed believers in Jesus Christ are intended to be subjects of baptism, and that immersion alone is the primitive mode in which the rite was administered. To the same conclusion Mrs. Judson was at length slowly conducted, and a few months later Mr. Rice professed his faith in the same general views. They were subsequently baptized, though at different times, in the chapel at Serampore, by Rev. Mr. Ward, of the English Baptist Mission.

"As a feature in the character of these independent young missionaries, this adoption of new views respecting the ordinance of baptism was in every way singular and remarkable. It was a step directly against all the prejudices of their education and their early associations, and contrary to all their present interests and engagements. It must inevitably separate them from the sympathies of friends to whom they had always been attached, and from the respected and honored Board by whose appointment they had gone to a distant continent as missionaries to the heathen, and on whose funds they were now depending for their support. On the other hand, the change would connect them with a denomination to whose members they were strangers, who had as yet manifested but little active interest in missions, and who, more than all, were without any missionary organization on which they could rely for guidance and support. No persuasive invitation was addressed to them, no prospect of advancement was placed before them. Never were inquirers after truth more entirely removed from the influence of any external bias. In circumstances like these we are compelled to believe that they abandoned their former opinions and adopted new, in accordance with the simple dictates of their own unbiased understanding and conscience; and that, in the words of one of their number, 'if there was ever an action performed from one single motive, unblended with any minor considerations, their baptism was an action of this description.'"

No one can fail of recognizing the hand of divine providence in thus furnishing us with our first missionaries. Although the result was precisely such as every Baptist would have expected from a careful and candid investigation of the subject, yet the circumstances and relations of the missionaries were such, that few would have anticipated it. It was a noble breaking away from long cherished opinions, which nothing but the fullest convictions of duty could have produced. God himself was pleased to select our candidates for missionary labor, and to throw them upon us for support in such a manner that we could not hesitate as to the path of duty.

Nor was the providence of God less strikingly manifested

in directing them to their field of labor. It is true their original designation by the American Board had been to Burmah. This was the chosen field of their labors. But how strange that Mr. and Mrs. Judson alone of the whole company should ever have reached its shores, and they through a series of dark and forbidding providences which would have caused any but the stoutest hearts to quail and become discouraged! Having landed at Calcutta and proceeded to Serampore, where they had joined themselves with the English missionaries, and were waiting for an opportunity to embark for the land of their destination, a government order was sent after them, requiring them to return without delay to the United States. They found means for a while to delay their return, and after a series of interruptions and disappointments at length arrived at their desired haven. In relation to this event Professor Gammell makes the following very just remarks:—

“The establishment of Mr. and Mrs. Judson in Burmah and the enlistment of the American Baptists in the support of their mission, it has been often observed, were brought about by a train of events of the most remarkable and providential character. No human wisdom or foresight selected the field in which were to be put forth their earliest labors, and no spontaneous charity furnished the means which were to constitute their support. The honor of commencing the missions of the American Baptists, let it be confessed, is to be ascribed rather to the divine Head of the Church, than to any leading movement or agency of the denomination itself. The way was prepared and the field was opened by God alone, and it only remained for true-hearted men to enter in and prosecute the noble work to which they had thus been summoned.”

“More than sixteen months had now elapsed since Mr. and Mrs. Judson sailed from Salem, to encounter the unknown trials and discouragements of a missionary life. The career that then lay before them was one with which they were wholly unacquainted, and it would be strange if the imagination had not lent to it some of the colorings of romance. Yet how checkered and troubled had it been! How marked at every stage by the superintending care of Him who shapes the ends of his servants, and out of trial and discouragement educes their highest spiritual good! Defeated in the plans they had formed, driven from the countries which they had entered, harassed and perplexed with the opposition of men who ought to have befriended them, separated, by their change of sentiments, from those with whom they had always been associated—alone, and at a distance from country and friends, the situation of these noble-hearted missionaries was one of no common trial and embarrassment. But Heaven had them in keeping, and had appointed them to its own chosen work in the land to which they were now about to sail—a land presenting, indeed, no attractions

of domestic comfort or of social refinement—dark with idolatry and heathen cruelty, but soon to be illustrated by signal displays of divine grace, and by the heroic labors of devoted missionaries.

"It was on the 22d of June, 1813, that Mr. and Mrs. Judson set sail from Madras for Rangoon. The passage was boisterous and dangerous, and more than once the ship was near being cast upon some of those hidden reefs that line the coral shores of the Indian seas. After a passage of three weeks, they at length, on the 14th of July, came to anchor in the harbor of Rangoon, and gazed for the first time at the pagodas and temples that deck the town, and the hills which rise in the distance."

Thus God was pleased to baffle all the devices of men against them, and to open the way by which they might engage in their work. Hitherto he had led them in a way they knew not of, but one which was conducting them to the very spot where they had so long prayed that they might engage in their mission of love. They could not fail to be deeply impressed with his providential care over them, and to feel that he alone could give them success. Thus far God had evidently established and directed them.

Nor was his hand less manifest in sustaining them. Of their missionary associates, some had been snatched away by death, before they had entered upon their work, others had been obliged to return to their native land to regain their health, which had been impaired by the unhealthiness of the climate, till most or all of them had abandoned their field of labor. But God had designed a different issue in regard to Mr. and Mrs. Judson. It is true they were not to be exempted from trials and afflictions. Their love to the cause of Christ and the perishing heathen was to be severely tested. They were to be called to endure a fight of afflictions. Heathen despotism, maddened by the rage of Satan, was to lift against them its vengeful arm, that the power of God might be gloriously displayed in their preservation and rescue. Those who are familiar with the Memoirs of the former Mrs. Judson will at once recur to the scenes to which we allude, and they will need no argument to prove to them that God's hand was manifest in their preservation. Through a long, dark and dreary night of persecution, He who was their keeper restrained the rage of their infuriated enemies, and at length opened the way of escape to them. Professor Gammell thus alludes to this scene, and pays a deserved tribute to the heroism of that most gifted woman :

“ Such is a single scene from this melancholy record of missionary suffering. History has not recorded, poetry itself has seldom portrayed, a more affecting exhibition of Christian fortitude, of female heroism, and all the noble and generous qualities which constitute the dignity and glory of woman. In the midst of sickness and danger, and every calamity which can crush the human heart, she presented a character equal to the sternest trial, and an address and a fertility of resources which gave her an ascendancy over the minds of her most cruel enemies, and alone saved the missionaries and their fellow captives from the terrible doom which constantly awaited them. Day after day and amid the lonely hours of night was she employed in conciliating the favor of their keepers, and in devising plans for their release, or the alleviation of their captivity. Sometimes, she confesses, her thoughts would wander for a brief interval to America and the beloved friends of her better days; ‘but for nearly a year and a half, so entirely engrossed was every thought with present scenes and sufferings, that she seldom reflected on a single occurrence of her former life, or recollects that she had a friend in existence out of Ava.’”

It was the hand of God that directed the attention of our missionaries to the Karens, that most remarkable and singularly interesting people. Their character and condition is thus truthfully sketched by Professor Gammell :

“ The Karens present the extraordinary phenomenon of a people without any form of religion or established priesthood, yet believing in the existence of God and in a future state of rewards and punishments, and cherishing a set of traditions of unusual purity and interest, which they transmit from age to age in the poetic legends of their race. These traditions contain many doctrines strikingly similar to the truths of Scripture, which in reality form the germs of a religion far superior in its influence upon their moral natures, to that of their haughty oppressors. The absence of a priesthood and of all the rites of superstition undoubtedly renders them more immediately accessible to the truths of the gospel, while the sanctions of virtue, the reverence for the unseen Deity, and the anticipations of a future life which are inculcated in their legends, tend to quicken and refine, to an unusual degree, their sensibility to moral truth. Blended with the traditions which they cherish are some singular prophecies, relating to their future elevation as a people, and asserting that they are not always to be thus degraded, that a brighter day is at length to dawn upon their race, and that white strangers from across the sea would come to teach them ‘the words of God,’ and raise them from their degradation. Hence, when the missionaries first became known to them, they evinced the greatest delight and welcomed them with the utmost enthusiasm. They believed that the mysterious predictions of the ‘elders’ of a former generation were about to be fulfilled, and that the Karens were now to be restored to a happiness and a dignity which they had lost for ages. Singular as these predictions appear, we shall perceive in the subsequent part of this narrative how important was the influence which they ex-

erted over the character of this simple people, and to how great an extent they were literally fulfilled by the arrival and the labors of the missionaries."

One of their number who had been a slave, but whose freedom had been purchased by the missionaries, was the instrument, in the hands of God, of bringing this people to their notice. He had become a convert to Christianity, and with singular zeal devoted himself to the spread of its truths among his countrymen. He induced many of them to visit Mr. Boardman at Tavoy, who became deeply interested in them, and was permitted to see many of them rejoicing in the truth as the early fruits of his labors. From that time to this, the mission among them has been prosecuted with a success that is without a parallel in the history of modern missions. It is impossible to estimate the beneficial results which have already accrued to that people from these efforts, and which, we trust, are still to develop themselves in their future history, or the extended influence which they, as a people, are ultimately to wield in carrying forward the work of evangelizing the heathen around them. God has evidently prepared them for such a time as this, and entrusted the work of their conversion, and consequently the direction of their religious energies, to the hands of American Baptists. It is a great and most responsible trust! May he give us grace vigilantly to guard and rightly to direct that trust.

Passing over many other indications of God's providence in regard to our missions in Asia, both as they have been manifested in the care and preservation of the missionaries in times of peculiar peril, and also in the protection of the infant churches which have been established by them, we will only direct attention further to the station in Assam. This country lies on the north-west of Burmah, bordered by China on the east. Since 1826 it has been under British rule, so that the inhabitants have enjoyed comparative quiet. As early as 1835, a proposal was made on the part of Captain Francis Jenkins, "commissioner of the governor-general of India for Assam," offering to contribute liberally to the support of the missionaries, provided the Board should see fit to station some in that province. The Board did not feel at liberty to decline this generous offer, and accordingly Messrs. Brown and Cutter were appointed to enter this field. They, after

enduring many privations, and passing through trials known only to those who have entered upon a similar work, succeeded in establishing themselves among that people, and already the ripened harvest sends forth pressing demands for additional laborers. This station, thus providentially brought to the notice of the Board, and thrown upon its hands, promises at no distant day to be one of the most interesting and successful under its direction. Rich clusters of fruit have already been gathered from it to gladden and encourage the hearts of its founders and supporters, and also to give promise of future abundance.

Nor were our missions in Europe established without manifest indications on the part of divine Providence, that the time had come when American Baptists were invited and pressed to occupy those fields. A native born Frenchman, of distinguished talents and attainments, had come to our shores, where his heart had been touched by the power of divine grace, and he was burning with a desire to proclaim the "unsearchable riches of Christ" among his own countrymen. He threw himself for aid in this work upon our Board, and desired that he might be permitted to make an effort to raise the standard of evangelical piety in his own native country. About this time also a change in the civil condition of France had, it was thought, loosened the hold which Romanism had possessed over the minds of the people, and prepared the way for the free toleration of religious opinions. Our Board was thus called upon to enter this field, and encouraged to hope that the same divine hand which had pointed it out and furnished a laborer for it, would continue to grant it succor and success. This hope has not altogether been disappointed, notwithstanding the mission has suffered some discouraging reverses. It has already accomplished untold good, and its fair fruits are now permitted to greet our eyes and gladden our hearts.

The land of Luther and Melanchthon is one which, in the Christian's mind, is associated with some of the most glorious achievements of our holy religion. It was there that papal rule was first successfully resisted, and the great fundamental doctrine of justification by faith fearlessly proclaimed. The wonders which were wrought by its power are now matters of history with which every Protestant school-boy may be supposed to be familiar. And one could hardly suppose that the lapse of only a few centuries could have sufficed to make

that doctrine, in the hearts and creeds of the great mass of that nominally Christian people, a nullity. But so it has actually turned out. The Germans have very justly been styled "a nation of baptized infidels." They retain the forms of the Protestant faith, but, with a few noble exceptions, they deny its vitality and power. They now need a reformation from infidelity, as much as their fathers did from popery.

It was not without reason that evangelical Christians of this country turned their attention to Germany. The German mind was making itself felt in every department of our literature. It produces the ripest scholars of the age, and with its scholarship diffuses its peculiar philosophical and religious notions. In ecclesiastical history and philological criticism the Germans stand unrivalled, and they are our masters in almost every science which demands thoroughness and patient research. It, therefore, became a question of deep and thrilling interest among Christians, whether, with the literature of that nation which was so widely disseminated among us, we should also be constantly subjected to the influence of the infidelity which it contained, or whether we should endeavor to cast the salt of life into the fountain, that the streams might become pure and healthful.

There have been in Germany, ever since the days of the Reformation, many persons embracing substantially Baptist views of the ordinances of the gospel, and thoroughly evangelical in their sentiments. They have been scattered in various parts of the country, without distinctive organization or combined action. In the year 1833, as Professor Sears was about to embark for Germany, he was requested by our Board to make observations and inquiries, to see if anything could be done in aid of the cause of evangelical piety in that country. In Hamburg he met with Mr. Oncken, a man distinguished for his ardent piety and untiring zeal, who had devoted himself with singular ability and success to the distribution of Bibles and tracts among the people, and who was burning with a desire to see Germany regenerated. Professor Sears found him to be a man of extensive information, singular prudence and judgment, and withal a thorough Baptist in principle. He, with others, soon submitted to the rite of baptism, and thus was constituted the first regular Baptist church in that country, of which Mr. Oncken was soon

ordained the pastor. Thus, in the providence of God, was our German mission commenced and established. Every Baptist has been too often thrilled with intelligence of its success to need any further reference to it in this connection. The following extract from Professor Gammell's history presents a very truthful representation of the state and progress of that mission :—

“ By agencies like these, the doctrines of Christianity, as received and practised by Baptists, have been widely disseminated in nearly all the States of Germany, in Denmark and Holland; and the churches of the mission have sprung up in several of the principal capitals and commercial cities, and in a large number of the villages which belong to the extended district lying between the Rhine and the Vistula, and between the capital of Denmark on the north and the capital of Austria on the south. In no one of the missions of the Board—that among the Karens alone excepted—has the growth been so rapid, or the number of converts annually added to the churches so considerable. The spiritual fruits it has borne are of the most gratifying character. Though the members of its churches are generally of humble condition in life and wholly dependent on their daily labor, yet they have evinced a Christian zeal and energy which have gained for them many friends, and called down the favor of Heaven upon the efforts they have made. The larger churches have in many instances contributed to the aid of the smaller, while large sums of money have been received from benevolent individuals in England and America, to aid in erecting houses of worship, or in relieving the distresses of those in prison or in exile. Messrs. Oncken and Lehmann have several times visited England and Scotland to make known the wants of the mission, and have always brought back with them substantial testimonials of the estimation in which it is there held. It has been from the beginning, in an eminent degree, a self-progressive mission; it has been sustained in a great measure by the friends it has gained, and extended solely by the converts its own doctrines have made. Amidst the contempt of ecclesiastics and the persecution of rulers, it has been honored by God as the means of signal blessings to the people, and has raised up in the heart of a powerful nation a band of converts and resolute believers in the simple doctrines of the gospel, who, undaunted by opposition, will still labor to extend among their countrymen, and to transmit to other generations, the precious faith they have received.

We have made copious extracts from the work before us, both because we wish our readers to gain a correct idea of its excellence, and because we could thus best illustrate the position which we have taken; namely, that God's hand is remarkably manifest in the establishment, preservation, and success of American Baptist Missions. We could wish this sentiment were more deeply impressed upon every

Christian heart. God has, in a special manner, called us, to engage in the work of foreign missions. He has crowned our efforts with the most flattering success, so that now we are called upon from every quarter to reinforce our stations, while new fields of great promise are continually opening before us. Shall the work which God has thus providentially committed to our hands, languish for want of the funds and men necessary to carry it forward? Will we suffer the crown of glory which our Heavenly Father seems desirous to place upon our heads as a denomination, to fall to the earth, while in humiliation we make the confession that we are not adequate to the crisis, even when Christ, our leader, beckons us onward to conquest and victory? Let us know assuredly that "God's work must be done," and if, at such a time as this, we prove recreant to our holy calling, deliverance shall come from some other source. The vineyard will be taken from us and given to a people more willing to cultivate it, and bring its fruits as a free-will offering to their master.

We hope the work of Professor Gammell will be extensively read, and we are sure it will not fail of exciting new interest in the cause of missions, while it will impress the mind more deeply than ever, with the fact that the great work of the Christian in this world, is to give the bread of life to the perishing.

ARTICLE III.

THE SUPREMACY OF CHRIST AS LAWGIVER IN THE CHURCH.

THE Lord Christ is the sole lawgiver of the church. The right to make laws for the government of the human race, rests primarily in God, without respect to the personal distinctions of the Godhead. But in view of the relation of the Son to the work of redemption, the Father gave him all power in heaven and upon earth. The Spirit's influence, the ministry of good angels, the control of bad angels, the material universe, the administration of providential government, each and all the means necessary for the accomplishment of the purpose of his mediatorial reign, were put into the hands of Christ.

As God all things were created by him and for him. He

was before all things and by him all things consist. His hand made the mote that floats in the sunbeam, and the worlds that revolve in the immensity of space ; the insect that flits in the air, and the angel that sings in heaven. These all owe their being to him, and he gave them the laws by which they exist and act.

By virtue of his relation to the human race as their creator, he is also their lawgiver. But it is not in consideration of this inherent, inalienable and eternally existent right that Christ claims the sole prerogative of enacting and enforcing laws for the government of the church. In addition to what belongs to him as one with the Father and the Spirit, he, in fulfilling the conditions of the covenant of redemption, became entitled to this exaltation, that at the name of Jesus every knee should bow, of things in heaven and things in earth, and things under the earth, and that every tongue should confess that Jesus Christ was Lord. (Phil. 2: 6-11.)

On this ground it is, that Christ asserts for himself the right of universal dominion. All things, he says, are *delivered unto me of my Father* (Matt. 11: 27). All power is *given me in heaven and upon earth* (Matt. 28: 18). Power over all flesh (John 17: 2).

To the same effect are the words of John: The Father loveth the Son, and *hath given* all things into his hands, (John 3: 33;) also of Paul, God raised him from the dead and set him at his own right hand, in the heavenly places, far above all principality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come, and hath put all things under his feet, and gave him to be head over all things to the church. By the gift of the Father, Christ has this preëminence—that he is the one lawgiver in Zion.

If to this it were necessary to add anything, we might say that the church is his by purchase, by conquest, by its own voluntary and formal consent ; that he is called, by inspired men, its lord, its king, its master ; that while on earth he had power to forgive sin, to raise the dead, to rescind the laws of nature, and to do many other things which imply the existence of supreme and unlimited authority ; that in coming time he will judge the world, distribute rewards and punishment according to his pleasure, and thus, that he possesses

every qualification of nature and of office requisite to constitute him the universal Lord of all.

But it is not our design to establish the claims of Christ to legislative power in the church. That he is *a* lawgiver in Zion is not disputed; that he is *the* lawgiver, that he alone has the right to enact and to abrogate, is not so generally conceded. The tendency of the public mind at the present time is towards the belief that "any community of Christians may adopt any form of church government which they may esteem most for their edification." To this opinion we do not assent; on the contrary, we believe that Christ has not given to any church as a body, or to any individual in it, the right to introduce, as of binding force or authority, any law which does not emanate from him.

The apostles, neither jointly nor severally, were authorized to do it. They were empowered to expound infallibly the doctrines of the gospel, to organize and establish Christian communities or churches, to instruct them in all things pertaining to the order and discipline of Christ's house; but in doing this, they were bound by the express instructions of Christ in his personal ministry, and by the subsequent teachings of the Spirit, and were not invested with discretionary powers; or if they were, neither the instructions of Christ nor their own writings acquaint us with the fact.

The great commission certainly contains no evidence that they were left to the guidance of their own discretion, either in respect to doctrine, or ordinances, or modes of worship. To go into all the world—to make disciples among all nations—to baptize into the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost those who believed—and to teach them to observe all things whatsoever Christ commanded, were the particulars included in it. If they had any authority to introduce into the church state any one thing, greater or less, beyond the things which they heard from Him, it must have been granted at some other time, and been derived from some instructions or permission given on some other occasion.

Extraordinary authority in the church was given first to Peter—the keys of the kingdom of heaven, power to bind on earth and to bind in heaven, to loose on earth and to loose in heaven; afterwards to the whole board of the apostles.

The exact nature and extent of this power might have been understood at the time, and it might not. But when,

after the crucifixion and the resurrection, Christ gave to the apostles the promise of the Holy Spirit, and repeated to them the same words, they understood its import, and the source from which qualifications for their work were to be derived. By reading the account given by John of the promise, and by the other inspired writers, of its fulfilment, we shall be satisfied, beyond a reasonable doubt, that they were not left to the guidance of their own unaided wisdom in any part of their official work.

“As my Father has sent me, even so send I you.” The Father sent the Son, not to do his own will, but the will of him who sent him. By divine appointment and by the fulness of the Spirit, Christ became an infallible teacher. His apostles with a commission from him carried on the work which he begun, gave to the church which he had planted its form, its laws and its mode of action ; as the Father had given all things into Christ’s hands, not solely because he had always been in his bosom and in the beginning had known his councils, but also because the Spirit had been given him without measure, so the apostles were not prepared for their work solely by their having been from the beginning intimately acquainted with the doctrine and the plans of their Master, but also by the fulness of the same Spirit. Without this their memories might have failed them. They might have wrongly construed his instructions. They might have reasoned inconclusively. New and untried circumstances might have required additional light. To obviate these defects, to qualify them fully for their work, he promised his Spirit, to guide them into all truth—to teach them all things—to bring to their remembrance all things, whatsoever he had commanded—and thus, in every exigency, to give utterance to what the Spirit of the Father should speak in them.

Such was most manifestly the construction which they put upon the promise of the Saviour. Paul says to the Galatians, I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me, *is not after man.* For I neither received it of man, nor was I taught it, but by revelation of Jesus Christ. This solemn asseveration of the apostle was made in support of his authority as an inspired teacher, for the express purpose of silencing those who claimed the right to mould the churches which he had planted, into a shape better

adapted to the habits and associations of those who were so attached to the rite of circumcision and other Jewish ceremonies, that they would introduce them into the churches under the new dispensation.

In the first epistle to the Corinthians the same writer asserts that the truths freely given them of God, the apostles taught, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but in the words which the Holy Ghost teacheth, (1 Cor. 10, 12, 13.) This again is said, not in respect to what are denominated the fundamental doctrines of the gospel merely, but in respect to matters of church order and polity. To correct certain irregularities in the disciplinary proceedings of the church, some abuses in the manner of observing the Lord's Supper, and in praying and prophesying, the apostle lays down the law of Christ, urges to its faithful execution, and then requires that not only the common members of the church, but even those among them who were regarded as prophets and spiritual, should acknowledge the things which he had written, as the commandments of the Lord.

In a second epistle he reiterates the same sentiment, saying, We are not as many which corrupt the word of God, but as of God speak we in Christ; and then proceeds to the correction of erroneous opinions prevailing upon such subjects as the gospel ministry, its nature, its importance, its trials, its supports, and the tempers of mind with which he and his brethren performed its duties, and then exhorts his brethren to avoid such connections as would injure their piety, and were inconsistent with the gospel which they professed to love, specifying particularly improper marriages and alliances with idolaters. In all this he claims for himself divine guidance. He that despiseth, despiseth not man, but God, who hath given unto us his Holy Spirit, (1 Thess. 4: 8.)

But full and complete as is the testimony of the apostle to the fact of his inspiration in all matters pertaining to the order of the church, there are some things said by him in these same epistles, which have been supposed to indicate that the apostle taught some things on his own authority, and not by the guidance of the Spirit.

Some of the passages referred to are the following: I speak this by permission and not of commandment. I command, yet not I, but the Lord. To the rest speak I, not

the Lord. I have no commandment of the Lord, but I give my judgment—and I think also I have the Spirit of God.

Upon these passages we will simply remark, that if we admit all that is claimed, which is, that the apostle acknowledges that in certain things which he wrote he had no consciousness of being moved upon by the divine Spirit, his scrupulous care to inform us that in a few particular cases, he wrote what he did without divine inspiration, affords satisfactory evidence that in all other cases he was inspired; and further, that if in any thing more or less he had written any thing not designed to be binding as given by Christ, he would have notified us of that also. This is all that is necessary to say upon these passages as affecting our present argument, though we are by no means certain that a thorough investigation of the language employed, would not show that even these constitute no exception to the declaration, that *all* Scripture is given by inspiration of God.

So far as we can see there is nothing in the great commission, in the promise made to the apostles in respect to the aid of the Spirit in their work, or in the manner in which they speak of themselves, that indicates that they were guided by their own discretion in preaching the gospel, in establishing and bringing into order the churches which were planted by them, or in putting into the church state, or leaving out of it any one thing greater or less. In everything they seem to have acted as under law to Christ. When they had made known his will, saw his laws executed, and had made a permanent record of his teaching during his personal ministry, and of their labors in planting and training the churches according to his commandment and under the guidance of his Spirit, their work was done. As the agents, representatives, ambassadors of Christ, they claim that unlimited confidence should be placed in their instructions. Whenever the principles of Christianity as a system of religious faith and duty, or the principles of the church organization as a visible society, are concerned, they speak as men having authority, because they were under divine guidance. Unhesitatingly they exercise the right of deciding every question on the subject of religion, whether in respect to doctrine or discipline, or the deposit of the ruling power in the churches; and they interdict and anathematize all doctrines, ordinances, and modes of worship different from theirs.

These high claims they justify on the principle that they had been commissioned by Christ to teach in his name, that their character as ambassadors had been confirmed by miracles, that the continued guidance of the Holy Spirit had been promised them, and the promise had been fulfilled in the aid afforded. This right was most cheerfully acknowledged in all the churches, insomuch that a single instance cannot be found in which any apostolic command was set aside, because it seemed to the members that their "habits and associations" or their "circumstances" were such as to require a different order.

We have now seen that Christ has legislative power in the church, that while he made his apostles the infallible representatives of himself, in the doctrines which they taught and in the principles of ecclesiastical polity which they adopted, he did not in any proper sense make them legislators with discretionary powers. What they had been taught by Him, and what the Spirit taught them, they announced and established as the law of the churches.

The *churches*, up to the time that the sacred canon was complete, never made, altered or abrogated any law or laws pertaining to the administration of their internal or external affairs.

The term church has been used in senses so various, that it may be necessary to assign to it some definite meaning before we attempt to prove what we now assert.

If we are not mistaken in our interpretation of the passages in which the word church occurs, no violence will be done to any one of them, if in every case we attach to it one or the other of these meanings: 1. A congregation of the professed disciples of Christ, in any place, united together by covenant, and walking in the ordinances of the Lord; or, 2, The whole company of true disciples, whether in heaven or on earth, considered as assembled in Christ their head; or, perhaps, 3, In a *collective* sense, as designating the several members of the visible churches in a particular city or district, considered as one in acts of fellowship and coöperation in Christ's service, though not as a society having power or authority, or government over each other, as in the local churches. In respect to the use of the term church in the second and third senses, we have only to say, that, as an organized community, having visible form, possessing power

over its own members, convened or convenable in one place on earth by itself or its representatives, and subject to any rules, regulations, laws, or earthly head or governor, no such body has ever existed.

On the other hand, each particular local church has an organized existence, with power over its own members to enforce any law or ordinance which Christ has made binding upon his disciples, considered as belonging to a regularly constituted society. In this sense only is it that any power, legislative or executive, can be said to belong to any person or persons as members of a church.

To this limited application of the word church, then, must we be understood as confining ourselves, when we say that up to the time to which the inspired record extends, no church ever made, altered or abrogated any law or laws pertaining to their organization, or to the administration of their internal or external affairs.

The "judicious Hooker" says, "To make new articles of faith and doctrine, no man thinketh it lawful. Articles of belief and things which all men must necessarily do to the end that they may be saved, are either expressly set down in Scripture or else plainly thereby to be gathered. But touching things which belong to discipline and outward polity, *the church* hath authority to make canons, laws and decrees, even as we read that in the apostles' times they did." Here it is declared that in the days of the apostles the church added to and amended the laws of its organization. Perhaps the learned prelate had in mind the apostles, considering them as the representatives of the church, and claimed that what was done by them under the special guidance of the Spirit, and in the name and by the authority of their Master, was to be regarded as done by the churches. But we have seen that they had no discretionary power in regard to doctrine, or modes of worship, and they acted not in the name and by the authority of any church or churches, but in the name and by the authority of their Master. Their work was peculiar, and from its very nature, could not be transferred to other hands, nor performed without the same fulness of qualification, in knowing the mind of the Spirit, in being under its infallible guidance, and in bearing the credentials of their special appointment. If reference is not had to the apostles as representing and acting for the churches, we do not know what

instances can be cited. There are, indeed, some instances in which the churches attempted to set aside the apostolic law of discipline, or introduce among them ordinances and modes of worship which the apostles did not approve, and for which merited rebuke was administered. And it may be thought that the case of the members of the church in Jerusalem, acting upon a message from the church in Antioch, which had been disturbed by certain members of the church in Jerusalem coming among them and teaching that the Gentile converts must be circumcised and keep the law of Moses, or they would not be saved, indicates the existence of the right of a church to legislate upon religious observances. But to us it seems otherwise. Paul and Barnabas and certain members of the church in Antioch were sent to consult the apostles, elders and church in Jerusalem, of which these disturbers of the peace of the Antiochean church were members, to ascertain whether any such doctrine was there embraced and was to be promulgated. When they had arrived in the city, the apostles, elders and brethren assembled to hear the message and form a decision upon the question submitted. After Peter had referred to the voice of God in the conversion of the Gentiles without circumcision, thus arguing that the matter was already determined, and James had proved the same by an inference from a passage in one of the prophets, it was determined to send a letter to the brethren which were of the Gentiles in Antioch, and Syria and Celicia, containing their decision, which they closed by saying: It seemed good unto the *Holy Ghost* and to *us* to lay upon you no greater burden than these necessary things, &c.

This, instead of being a reference to the decision of a church acting by its own wisdom and discretion, was an appeal to inspired authority, which in after ages could be imitated only by appealing to the apostolic writings. "The apostles were in the room of the New Testament, and the Holy Ghost gave them their instructions." If this was a case of a church deciding upon "rites and ceremonies," it was a church doing it under divine guidance, and therefore can never be cited as an example to any other church to decide any matter of order or discipline except by reference to what the voice of inspiration has dictated.

Entertaining such views of the true import of the passage to which we have now referred, and of the true office work of

the apostles respecting the law-making power in the church, and seeing no other evidence that the churches in the time of the apostles did make "canons, laws, and decrees," we must conclude that so far as Scripture testimony is concerned, there is no reason to believe that the legislative power of the church has been transferred by Christ to any individual, individuals, or society whatsoever. To us it seems certain that the right to make laws for the church then vested in Christ only, and not in the people or in the rulers of the people; that the system of ecclesiastical government was therefore strictly a Christocracy, and not a democracy or an aristocracy.

When we say that the government of the church is Christocratic and not democratic or aristocratic, we mean to use the term as designative of the form of polity given, not to the invisible or universal church, but to the visible or local churches. For we are not to be numbered with those who believe that the New Testament does not give any directions to these communities for the administration of their affairs as a society. To us it seems that we are not left thus without a guide, but that Christ is really and truly the head, the lawgiver, and the only lawgiver to the churches as societies, as much as to the church as made up of all true believers in every age of the world. What the form of government which he has adopted is, it does not belong to our present purpose to show, only that some one form must have been adopted in the primitive churches, and that this form was binding as given by Christ, in whom alone the law-making power was deposited.

A writer whose opinions have deservedly great weight in the churches with which we are connected, says: "The question, however, may be asked, What is the form of church government which Christ has ordained for these various communities of Christians? I answer, I do not perceive in the New Testament any directions on this subject. I see there mention made of pastors or religious teachers, who were to preach the word and be examples to the flock, and deacons, whose office it was to distribute the charities of the disciples. But how they were to be appointed, or what was to be the form of ruling authority, has not been authoritatively made known to us. I see nothing in the New Testament which would prevent any community of Christians from adopting any form of church government which they may esteem most

for their own edification. The forms which have been adopted have in fact been very analogous to those which have obtained in civil society. All of them are allowable. Each one of them has various points of excellence. One may be better adapted to the habits and associations of one company of disciples, and another to another. One of them is as acceptable to the master as the other, if it be administered as much to his glory and the edification of those who have chosen to adopt it."

This passage, we conclude, has reference to the deposit of ruling authorities in the church, and not properly to the law-making power; and though we cannot see, precisely, how executive power can be placed in such contingencies as to its exercise, without great liability of encroaching on the rights of the Saviour's crown, and interfering with the essential principles which all admit that he has given, and in accordance with which Christian churches must be organized and conducted, we will give our reasons for believing that the New Testament contains a plan in model, if not in systematic description, to which the churches in our time and in all times are bound to conform.

(1.) The ruling power, or the power to carry into effect the laws of Christ respecting things which are essential to the church organization, and to the accomplishment of the purposes for which Christ had appointed it, must have existed somewhere in the apostolic churches. It might have been in its officers or in the body, or in both, but somewhere it must have been deposited. Members were received, and they gave evidence of possessing the moral characteristics which Christ has made essential to membership in his body. Some individual, individuals, or the whole church, must have judged and decided respecting their reception. Members were also excluded, because they did not comply with the prescribed conditions of continuance in the Christian brotherhood, and there must have been some judicial tribunal. Pastors to preach the gospel, to be leaders and examples to the flock, were chosen. Their qualifications were given in the epistles to Timothy and Titus. They were ordained, collections were made for their support, for relieving the necessities of poor saints, and for propagating the gospel. Deacons, whose qualifications were also specified, were appointed to distribute these charities. Baptism and the Lord's Sup-

per were also administered, and public religious services were performed, all of which presupposes the existence of official relationship to some body in which the power of judging, electing, and setting apart to a specific work resided.

(2.) The fact that certain things were done in the churches, by the whole body or by individuals particularly designated, must have brought into existence *some form* of church government. It might have been democratic, aristocratic, or mixed, but some form must have been produced. No body can exist and act as a community or society without some deposit of the ruling power. Their acts, by whomsoever performed, must be made of binding force upon the members, by some authority which they acknowledge. When Christ was on earth he appointed the things to be done and the persons to do them ; when he went to his Father, he gave it in charge to his apostles to deliver to his disciples his laws and to see them executed. They organized societies for the express purpose of carrying out his will, and as they were not stationary, but passed from place to place, they taught the members of the churches, in the transaction of their business as communities, in such a manner as to show them where the ruling power was deposited, and then afterwards, in epistles directed to them, enjoined it upon them to exercise this power in accordance with their instructions. Thus the examination and reception of members, the election of officers, and the transaction of other business, must have given some form to their ecclesiastical polity.

(3.) The form of government which existed in all the primitive churches was the same. The epistles written to one church are read in others, and their teachings are regarded as binding upon those who read them, as much as upon those who first received them. An older and completely organized church is exhibited as a pattern to one more recently constituted and more imperfect in knowledge and order. Some churches are praised or blamed for their conformity to, or their disagreement from, the laws of administration given to and practised in others. The entire tone of the apostolic epistles is such as to show that they regarded the churches as having in them the same laws and the same customs. Paul beseeches the church in Corinth to be followers of him, and so careful was he to secure conformity to the order which he had established, that he sent Timothy to bring them into

remembrance of his ways in Christ, and by an epistle assured them that he taught the same things everywhere, in every church. After giving a law by which a Christian who had an unbelieving partner should be governed, he adds, So ordain I in all the churches. Upon the spirit of contention existing among them, he says, We have no such custom, neither the churches of God. Upon the exercise of spiritual gifts, he says, The spirit of the prophets is subject to the prophets, for God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all churches of the saints. Concerning the collections for the poor saints, as he had given order to the churches in Galatia, so he directs them to lay by on the first day of the week according as the Lord had prospered them, saying that he would send their contributions to Jerusalem by such persons as the church appointed. These passages are taken from an epistle which will be seen to have respect not to doctrinal teaching merely, but to matters of church order and discipline, and they clearly indicate the existence of the same polity in all the churches planted by the apostles.

(4.) The form of government, which we have now seen to be the same in all the churches, was given them by the apostles under the same guidance which they enjoyed in other parts of their official work, and was made binding upon them by the especial authority of Christ, their head and lawgiver.

In the great commission there is no distinction made between articles of faith and of polity. While the direction to teach the disciples all things whatsoever Christ had commanded, is a general one, the things specified are faith and baptism, a moral and a positive qualification for membership in the church.

When the apostles as a body received their authority as Christ's representatives, it was in connection with the law of discipline given in the 18th ch. of the gospel by Matthew.

When they were promised the Holy Spirit to lead them into all truth, and to bring all things to their remembrance, whatsoever Christ had said unto them, it was when they had just partaken of the ordinance of the Supper, and there was no exception made in respect to church order and discipline.

When abuses in respect to the manner of observing the communion had crept into the Corinthian church, the apos-

tle refers to the original institution, stating the circumstances with great minuteness, and assures them that the rest he would set in order when he came among them. When they neglected their discipline and did not separate the incestuous person from the church, he commanded them, in the name of the Lord Jesus, when they were gathered together to deliver him unto Satan.

When he left Titus in Crete to set in order the things that were wanting, and to ordain elders in every city, he did not leave him to his own discretion, but commanded him to do all things as he had appointed.

The apostles, in their preaching and in their epistles, address the churches as authoritatively upon the reception and rejection of members, the character, qualifications and duties of their officers, and the whole administration of their ecclesiastical polity, as upon the doctrines or the temper of heart which they inculcate. They call upon the churches, without any exception or limitation, to be followers of their ways in the Lord, and to conform in all things to the model which they had given in the churches which they had previously established.

These things prove to our mind conclusively that the primitive churches received the form of ecclesiastical government which they adopted, from the apostles, who acted under the same guidance as in other parts of their official work, and that they considered this form as made binding upon them by the same authority as that to which they submitted in their articles of faith.

But it is said that the form of government given to the apostolical churches, might have been binding upon them in that age, and still not be binding upon the churches in all future time.

This is unquestionably true. The same authority which has made a constitution, might abolish it. God gave to his ancient covenant people the ceremonial law as revealed by Moses. They adopted it. It became their law. He could and he did abolish it, but the people could not do it. They might disobey it, and they did, but it was binding upon them till the same authority which made it declared it null and void. In the new dispensation a new law was adopted in the place of the old—new conditions of membership—new officers—and new laws. As we have seen, this was done by

Christ, who had all power given unto him in heaven and in earth, and by him and his apostles acting under the guidance of the Spirit, given to the churches, and by *his authority* made binding on them. What we assert now is, that it is thus binding upon all the churches, which are successors to them, unless it can be proved that the same authority which first gave it to the churches has changed its form, and the ground upon which anything belonging to it is binding. The proof of a change belongs properly to those who claim that it has been made. It does so,

(1.) Because whenever any society has adopted a constitution and been governed by it, whether that constitution be written or unwritten, if we ascertain what it was at a given time, the presumption is that it remains the same up to the time that we have positive proof of a change. Especially is it so in respect to the deposit of legislative and executive power, and other matters of like importance. Such a change as that from a monarchy or an aristocracy, to a democracy, or the reverse, could not be admitted without proof.

Now the constitution under which the first churches were organized, was given by the apostles in obedience to the authority of Christ. We do not say that it was drawn out with all the formality of a deed of conveyance, but was in part preceptive, and in part embodied in a living form, as things became established by what is called common law. The churches received it and acted under it for a sufficient length of time to give it form, and to enable us to ascertain what were its provisions and how they were carried into effect. Till after the death of all those who were the founders of the society, we find no evidence of a change, though the history of the period is written by themselves, and they record some attempts to dispense with the laws of discipline and to pervert the ordinances. Still, whenever this was attempted, they were able to repress the disorders and restore the ordinances as they had delivered them.

(2.) What is true in respect to the constitution in other particulars, is true also in respect to the ground of binding obligation. The kings of England once made and executed laws on the ground of "the divine right," as it was called. The presumption is a fair one, that if they did so at a specified time, they continued to exercise power on this basis, and that the people submitted to their laws on this ground,

up to the time that history informs us that they demanded and obtained the royal assent to a change in the tenure of kingly power. Whether this right existed by written contract or by implied consent, makes no difference.

So it is in respect to the basis on which the rights of sovereignty and the duty of obedience are built in the churches of Christ. Those which came into existence in the times of the apostles received the system of government which they adopted as of divine authority. They submitted to it as the constitution which Christ had left and given to his apostles to be delivered to the churches, and by them adopted, not on the ground that they thought it better than they, in their wisdom, could have devised, or better adapted to their "habits and associations," but on the ground that their Lord and Master had commanded them to submit to it, and had obtained such control over them that his will was in very deed their will.

Should any one assert that the ground of obligation is now changed, so that ecclesiastical laws are now binding, because they are thought by a majority or by all the members to be better adapted to the circumstances of a particular church, or to the churches in a particular country, we should reasonably demand evidence that the original founder had given consent to such a change, in the tenure by which he exercised authority in the churches. Or if without any such grant any society should venture to do so, we should say that it had ceased to be a church according to Christ's idea of it, and had become another society, a religious, perhaps a Christian society, but still another. Thus we might throw the burthen of proof upon those who assert that a change has been made in the constitution or the rights of sovereignty in the churches, and if proof fails, we might claim that those communities or societies which succeed to their rights and privileges, must comply with the conditions on which they were granted. But we choose to present some other evidence that the apostolic practices adopted in the primitive churches are binding upon all future churches.

(1.) If the apostolic churches are not a model to us, then all those numerous passages of Scripture that are employed in describing them or in giving directions to them, are useless to us. If we are not bound to introduce into our church building none but lively stones, of what use can it be to us

to know that the primitive churches introduced no others into theirs? If the duties which devolve upon the officers and private members of our churches respectively, are not the same as those which devolved upon the officers and members of the primitive churches, of what use is it that we should know what was required and what was done by them? If the rule of discipline given in Matthew was designed only for the apostolic churches, of what use is it that we should know it? and so of a very large proportion of what is written in the New Testament.

(2.) If the churches in our time and in all times are not addressed in the person of the members of the primitive churches, they are not addressed at all, in those writings which were given, as we have always believed, to the human race as such, and to the end of time. In these writings we certainly are not known, but as members of those churches which were planted by the apostles. Whatsoever is said to them is said to us. Thus our Lord promising his continual presence with his servants preaching the gospel, addresses all, in every age, in the person of the apostles then present, *Lo, I am with you always till the world shall end.* The apostles also, speaking of what should happen in every after age, address those to whom they write as concerned, and warn them of what was to happen to their successors to the end of time. "We which are alive and remain unto the coming of the Lord shall not prevent them which are asleep." Here the apostle addresses, in the person of the church of the Thessalonians, which then was, those Christians which shall be on the earth at the time of the second coming of our Lord. I might quote innumerable examples, if necessary, to show that where the apostles addressed themselves to the churches which they organized, they had in their eye, not these churches only, but those who should come after them; and when they described the rules of order, discipline and government which prevailed in them, when they praised or blamed, or in any other way told these churches of their duty, they had in mind the very same things as existing in the churches in after time, requiring the very same things by way of instruction, encouragement or reproof.

(3.) If it be true that those things which are addressed to the apostolic churches are addressed to us, that we are known only as members of them, every argument used to

prove that they were bound to adopt the form of government given them by the authority of Christ, will apply to us as much as to them. To any general command there can be no lawful exception but what is impossible, sinful, or otherwise determined. The command to be followers of the apostles, is a general one. Their conduct in the formation of churches is not excepted, but in more than one instance when this command is given, it has especial respect to the ordinances which they delivered, traditions taught by word and epistle, the laws of discipline and such like matters. Should any one after their example undertake to work miracles, this would be impossible. Should any one contend that celibacy is a duty from the example of Paul, his example in this case is declared not to be binding. Should any one justify a quarrelsome disposition from the example of Paul and Barnabas, he is condemned by the Scriptures. But is the imitation of the apostolic example in the constitution and government of the primitive churches either impossible, sinful or otherwise determined?

No one will declare it to be impossible for a church to exist and flourish without observing any other laws, rules or regulations, without any other offices or modifications of offices, without any other discipline or sanction of discipline, without any other test of admission or means of preserving purity, but what are to be collected from apostolic example and the scattered information of Scripture.

No one will pretend to say that it is sinful to adopt and carry out the form of ecclesiastical polity introduced into the early churches by the example of the apostles, as set by them in those which they personally constituted and brought into order. And in regard to any particular rule or regulation which they gave, it certainly cannot be said that it is not binding because it is otherwise determined by any other enactment. We say then confidently, that, if we are the successors of the apostolic chuches, we are bound by the laws which were adopted in them, unless we can show from the Scriptures that we have a license to depart from them. But this no one will attempt to show, and hence it is that the advocates of the liberty of departing from the apostolic model always lay the weight of their cause upon something else than a Scripture argument. We have not time to examine all the arguments by which it is attempted to be

proved that the churches in our day are not bound to adopt the form of government given by the apostles to the churches which they planted. Still we must present some of them, as they are now being received as valid somewhat extensively, among the descendants of those who, in time past, have adhered rigidly to the principle, that the Scriptures are our only guide in matters of church building, as much as in matters of faith.

(1.) It is said that the *Scriptures* leave *some things more or less* to be determined by the churches, and hence it is concluded that they, by inspiration, sanction the exercise of discretionary power beyond the things specified.

The time of meeting for religious worship, on the Lord's day, could not have been the same in China and America without inconvenience to the worshippers in the one place or the other. Fixing the precise order of public devotional exercises would not have accorded best with the free development of Christian feeling, nor with the diversity of the operations of the divine Spirit upon the heart. Ordering that particular houses should be occupied for devotional purposes, and making the validity of Christian sacraments to depend upon many minute and particular circumstances, and many other things of like kind, would have been attended with positive inconvenience. We admit, therefore, that those things about which there could be no dispute; those which, in the nature of things, could not have been fixed, or which, if fixed, would have been attended with positive inconvenience, are left to human ordering. But still we deny that this can, in any way, be made the basis of an argument for setting aside what has been taught by apostolic examples, by direct precept, or undeniable inference from principles plainly revealed. To do this would be much the same as though those who celebrate the Lord's Supper in their usual places of worship instead of doing it in an upper room, and use leavened bread instead of unleavened, were to be told that to preserve consistency, they must admit that the church has a right to substitute water for wine, or meat for bread, and, finally, to dispense with the supper altogether. Now every one must see that such a consequence would not follow from the premises; and even though the whole body of Christians should so impose upon themselves as to admit that it did, it would not change the fact, or make it binding upon the con-

science of any one who did not see the validity of the reasoning, to lay aside the Scriptural teaching, and do violence to the convictions of his own judgment in the premises.

But it is said that it is not such minor things as those specified only, which are left undetermined, but many others, of acknowledged convenience and importance. Whether there are any such things, what they are, and how many, will depend very much, we suppose, upon the principles of the persons who see, or think they see them. The opinion that the Scriptures are deficient in their instruction, will have a natural tendency to make us undervalue every kind of evidence, except that which is formal and preceptive. If a person had deliberately adopted the opinion that the works of nature convey no evidence of the existence of a creating cause, or if of a creating cause, no evidence of a superintending providence, he would not see marks of design or proof of superintendence in many things which, to a Christian, would speak of God and of his care of the things which he had made. So if a person believed that Christ had given no model for the building of churches, he would be very likely to pass by many things which, to one of the contrary opinion, would convey instruction. If no passages but those which embody in dogmatic form the opinions of inspired men, or if the main scope of the writer only is to be accounted as legitimate teaching; if occasional hints, allusions and incidental references amount to nothing — upon the same principle the clear and convincing evidence which Phil. 2: 5 - 11 affords, respecting the person, character and work of Christ, is of no value, because the immediate design of the passage is, to enforce humility and brotherly love by the example of Christ; and such arguments as that contained in Paley's *Horæ Paulinæ*, which is entirely based on undesigned coincidences, must pass for nothing. The same may be said of instruction by example. If one believes that the apostolic practice has no binding power, he will not see or feel the force of abundant teaching, which is full of inspired wisdom to one who believes that he is bound to follow the apostles as they followed Christ. We have been accustomed to regard the things done by the apostles and in the churches under their training, as conveying instruction as truly, and of as much importance, and of as much binding obligation, as though they had taught the same things by language; and in this we

think we have the unbiased judgment of the great body of Christians. They all seem to value very highly, apostolic example, where it corresponds with their own practice, and it is only in those cases where their order is at variance with it, that they esteem it very lightly. Deriving our information as to the government, order and discipline of the church, from precept and example, from hints and allusions, from apparently designed and undesigned coincidences in modes of proceeding, and incidental references to such things as show that the same order prevailed in several of the churches, we do not find so many things that are necessary to the being or the well-being of the churches untaught by inspired writers, and therefore the bare outline, which appears to the advocates of church legislative rights, has, in our eyes, very fair and full and comely proportions. We should be very willing to cast in our lot with brethren who held to no opinion, adopted no law of discipline and had "no rules, canons or regulations" which were not taught in the one or the other of those ways which we consider as equally authoritative, when God has chosen to adopt it. "The question is not, how the Scriptures throw light upon the subject, but do they throw light upon it? As far as this light reaches we may proceed; in the precise point where it stops, we must stop. Very likely, if we had been consulted, instead of those occasional hints and allusions, and that parsimonious selection of facts which the inspired writers have given us, we should have had a form of church government, with a directory for public worship, drawn out into a systematic treatise, larger than the whole New Testament, as minute and as guarded as a conveyance. We certainly would not have forgotten to secure the blessings of a learned and respectable ministry, by the ample endowment of a sufficient number of seminaries, and it is not likely that we should have left so important a matter as the provision of bishops to the precarious supply that providence might afford from the churches. Nor do I think we should have stopped till we had crowned all by solemn league and covenant, binding ourselves and our posterity forever to maintain inviolate what we had done."

But the extent to which matters of ecclesiastical polity are said to be undetermined by the inspired writers, and the particulars said to be left out, must be learned from the advocates of the system who are its legitimate expounders. If

we take pains to examine into this matter, we shall see that the following, among other things, are concluded not to be authoritatively settled—the *materials* of which the church is composed, whether believers, or believers and their children, or all who are born and reared within certain territorial limits—the *body* to which the term church is to be applied, whether the congregation receiving the sacraments, or its eldership, or a board foreign to itself—the *rights of sovereignty*; where they are deposited, in the church as a body, or in representatives appointed by itself, or in those who have succeeded to certain apostolical functions. “If in the lowest degree we are supposed to have the right of legislation, the gradation to the highest is easy, the steps of the ascent are natural, till we come to the highest pinnacle of Babylon.”

(2.) Another basis upon which an argument is founded in favor of the position that the church has a right to adopt a form of government different from the one given by the apostles, is the alleged fact that no form of government for the churches could be framed which would be adapted to their condition in all ages, countries and circumstances.

It is true that no form of ecclesiastical polity could be adapted to a civil establishment, under all the different forms of civil government. It is true, also, that no one which we can conceive of would be adapted to the caprices of all the different men who may, from time to time, compose it, especially to the condition of those whose minds are not moulded to Christ’s laws. But this we do not deem necessary to the perfection of a system adapted to the character and work of those, whose minds are brought into the spirit of exact and literal obedience to the laws of one master, even Christ. Those who acknowledge him as their sovereign Lord, have, as a church or religious society, nothing to ask of any civil establishment but to be let alone, to have “their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor” protected as other citizens.

This being the extent of all that, as a church, Christians can ask or innocently receive, it is not easy to see wherein any form of civil government may not be adapted to the wants of Christians as a society, which should *not* claim the right of interference and control over their affairs. If the civil power should steadfastly resist every effort to induce it to patronize religious societies, and to sustain, by legislation, any other relation towards them than towards any sci-

tific and benevolent institution, this would assimilate the condition of such societies to that of the apostolic churches, for they certainly enjoyed no special governmental favor and received no special encouragement. On the contrary, a determination on the part of civil rulers to regulate and direct the business of the church, where such a purpose was resisted, could do nothing more than produce a state of trial and persecution, which for conscience' sake might be endured. But this again would assimilate the church, in its condition, to that in which it was in the days of the apostles, and to which it was, in its internal organization and in its external form, perfectly adapted. Thus the same system of government would show itself again, as it did in the early history of the churches, perfectly well adapted to the family of Christ in different governmental conditions.

But the age in which it exists is also supposed to have its influence upon the form of government suited to the church. The religious condition of two classes of people in any age or at any remote period from each other, can hardly be conceived to be more different than that of the Jews and the heathen in the times of the Saviour and his apostles, yet we can discover no essential difference in the church organizations of those who were blessed with the lively oracles, and those who had formed their religious notions under the influence of idol worship and the tuition of idolatrous priests, statesmen and philosophers. The instruction given to the one was somewhat different from that given to the other, but it was communicated by the same order of religious teachers, and they were brought into the same relations to them. So far as anything pertaining to order or discipline was concerned, the same law of proceeding was observed in the churches among the Jews and the Gentiles, though they might have been exposed to the danger of violating it in different respects. The same court of trial, the same manner of indictment, the same law in respect to witnesses, and the same mode of rendering judgment, are seen everywhere to prevail. These all being the same, it is not easy for us to understand how the form of government needs to be different in our age to adapt it to the different degrees of religious knowledge which exists, any more than in the days of the apostles. The same may be said in respect to the varieties of moral character, which distinguish different people, in the several countries and periods in which the gos-

pel may be preached and churches organized. The general type of moral character, before conversion and after it, is the same in all times and places. Degrees of moral degradation and elevation may exist, but no more in our times than when the first disciples were made. These may be thought to require a different system of polity corresponding to these differences of moral character and conduct; but it is not so. In no place will we find a people who do not violate the ten commandments, and in no place a people who do anything more than that; and certainly common judgment will satisfy any one that the violation of one commandment may be judged of by the same court, and sentence rendered in respect to it by the same law, that any other in the decalogue can. So also in respect to doctrinal errors, and everything in the way of discipline that can come before the church for its action. It is indeed this very fact that the scriptural form of government is adapted to all grades of character, moral, social and religious, which stamps upon it indelibly the seal of its divine origin.

Seldom have we seen a paragraph that more exactly and more strikingly expresses the convictions of our own minds upon the subject now discussed, than one in "the Report of the Committee on the proposed amendment of the Constitution of the A. B. M. Union," with which we beg leave to close this article. "In political science, government is considered as having its three branches: the legislative, the judiciary, and the executive. Baptists believe that, in the New Testament polity, the *legislation* of the church ceased with the completion of the New Testament canon; and that, on the death of the last apostle, this, the legislation of the Christian church, became a fixed, finished fact, to which nothing could be added, and whence nothing may be taken, and that all improvements and appendages attempted by the laws and canons of synods, are gross usurpations on the kingly prerogatives of our one Lord Jesus Christ, and gross invasions of the rights of us, the Lord's freedmen. As to the *judiciary* powers of the Christian church, we suppose them to reside in the Christian Scriptures, as expounded by the ever living and infallible Spirit—expounded to the individual conscience and the prayerful church; and that the church, in Christian discipline, exercises such judicial power when devotionally consulting Scripture and receiving the aids of that Spirit, or it may rather be said, the spirit of Christ judges, *in them and by them*, the offending

disciple. As to the *executive* power of the church, it dwells in Christ and the spirit of Christ, as inhabiting, as prompting, as endowing, and as blessing his servants, both individually and as churches. *They* work and *he* works, for *by* him and *in* him is their strength and life. The perpetual presidency of the Lord Jesus Christ in the assemblies of his believing people, is the safeguard, and glory, and strength of our churches. The perpetual immanence and intercession of the Holy Spirit in the hearts and assemblies of a devout church—this is the breath of our nostrils as to our spiritual life and well-being, and this the patent of our indefectibility and invincibility. Soon as the Spirit is grieved and goes forth, our polity is such that the process of ecclesiastical disintegration at once commences. When the breath or earthly spirit goes out of a man, his body rots and the members fall apart. When the fruit becomes decayed, its skin no longer holds the pulp, but it loses shape, solidity and cohesion. So it is in what we deem the polity of the New Testament churches. As long as they remain spiritual and prayerful, our churches, with Christ in their hearts, and Christ in their assemblies, have, on our system, energy and elasticity and boundless enterprise, and yet perfect union. But when piety dies, the unity and power disappear, as they ought of right to do; for unity without piety makes the church a curse to the world. Other systems hold the ecclesiastical continuity and organization unbroken, when the spirit and inward life have vanished. They galvanize the corpse of a Christian church into ghastly and murderous activity, after the breath of divine life has quitted it."

ARTICLE IV.

THE CHERUBIM.

[Translated from the German of Bahr.]

THE surest way to discover the import of these beings, the objects of much discussion, is unquestionably that pointed out in the introduction, § 5. iii. Accordingly we are first to consider their names, which must stand in the closest connection with their design. Besides the name cherubim, whose etymology as a *crux interpretum* is, at least beforehand,

wholly doubtful, and from which therefore nothing can be inferred with certainty, there is also found another name, occurring quite as often, at least in Ezekiel, to wit, (hayoth,) living. Compare Ez. 1: 5, et passim. The Seventy render it by ζῶα, and the Apocalypse also uniformly designates by this word those four beings who stand round the throne of God, and who make up the four essential parts of the cherub, man, ox, lion, eagle. Com. Apoc. 4: 6, 7, 8, 9; 5: 6, 8, 11, 14. That this name should not be translated "beasts," the usus loquendi of the Apocalypse alone shows; for the creature of apostacy and enmity is constantly named θηρῶα, in contradistinction from the four ζῶοις standing round the throne of God. Com. chap. 11: 7; 13: 1; 14: 9; and chap. 17 throughout. Hence the idea of *life* necessarily lies at the basis of the idea of the cherubim, and if they were named the *living*, absolutely and by way of distinction, they must be conceived of as beings to whom life in a wholly peculiar sense, *the life* by eminence (ζωὴ εξουσίη), belongs. The clearer description in Ezekiel as well as in the Apocalypse, namely, that they are in unceasing motion, points likewise to this view, Ex. 1: 14; Apoc 4: 8; ("and they rest not day and night,") for unceasing motion, activity, efficiency, is evidence of life; where the former ceases, the latter is no more, there is death. The unceasing activity of the Father and the Son are deduced, John 5: 17-26, from this,—that both have in themselves the life, i. e., the fountain of life. This general, fundamental idea of life by eminence in the cherub, is more closely defined by the essential parts of the same. These are *creatures*: consequently the cherub as a whole is a being who possesses the creature life preëminently, i. e., the full, entire, highest, most perfect life belonging to creatures, and stands on the summit of this life. But at the same time, these creatures united in the cherub are *four*, which number is as far from being accidental or arbitrary here as in the hundred other cases of the Jewish symbology. We have learned to recognize it as the sign of creation in general, but especially so far as the latter is a testimony and revelation of God. The cherub is therefore a being, who, as standing at the head of creature life and uniting in itself the most perfect life of creatures, is the most perfect revelation of God and the divine life. This appears yet more plainly and definitely from the nature

of those creatures forming it, or from the position which these take among the remaining creatures. They belong to those creatures of the visible world which form the highest of her three kingdoms, the kingdom of those living organically; and in this kingdom again they belong to the highest class, to that which has warm blood and so the highest physical life; nay, in this highest class they are again the highest, so that an old Jewish adage says, "Four are the highest in the world: The lion among wild beasts, the ox among cattle, the eagle among birds, man among all (creatures); but God is the highest of all," by which nothing else can be meant than that in these four is concentrated the highest form of creature life, but God himself is yet elevated infinitely above this highest form; from him the life of all creatures is derived, he is the Lord of creation. But further, these four hold their high position among the creatures of the visible world by virtue of certain peculiarities and vital powers, by which they are distinguished above other creatures as well as from each other; and if now on account of these peculiarities they are united with one another to form the cherub, who as a compound of the highest vital powers belonging to creatures, is an evidence and revelation of divine life, they must of necessity also, each in his individual peculiarity, testify of particular exhibitions of the supreme life and point to special modifications of that life. As therefore the cherub as a whole is a symbol, so also indirectly are its individual component parts symbols, whose meaning we must attempt briefly to unfold.

a. The ox, for reasons which cannot here be mentioned, was in the entire ancient world the symbol with all nations of the producing, creating power. It cannot be doubted that this signification was also known to the Hebrews. The language even points to this. The first letter of the alphabet as the primitive letter which opens the whole series of the same, and as the numerical sign for one which opens the series of numbers, is the name of the ox (*aleph*); nay, according to some, this first letter in view of its figure and form must have arisen from the hieroglyph representing the head of the ox. The name *arator*, (plougher,) indicates that on account of which the ox became the general symbol of production, &c. It is quite evident from the history of the golden calf, Ex. 32, that the symbol of the ox was understood by the He-

brews in the same sense as in Egypt, and the image-service under Jeroboam leaves still less doubt on this point, for this was at all events a service of Jehovah ; and if now Jehovah was represented under the symbol of the ox, on what ground could this take place, if not on the principal Mosaic dogma : God is the creator of heaven and earth ? Now if the productive, creative power of God was thought of by the Israelites in connection with other images of the ox, they would have considered and apprehended this image in the composition of the cherub in the same way.

b. The lion : which was also called by the ancients absolutely "the beast," *κατ' εξοχην*, and was always regarded by all nations as the king of beasts ; thus he appears with the Hebrews. In the Holy Scriptures two kinds of eminence are specially ascribed to him ; his vast strength and invincible power (Judg. 14: 18, Prov. 30: 30, 2 Sam. 1: 23 ; 19: 10), then, as a consequence of these, his terribleness. (Hos. 11: 10, Amos 3: 8, 1 Chron. 12: 8, Ps. 22: 22.) By virtue of these peculiarities which belong in an equal degree to no other animal, he is often used as a symbol of the invincible power of God, and especially so far as this overtakes, judges, punishes, destroys. Isa. 31: 4, Jer. 25: 37, 38, Hos. 5: 14 ; 13: 7, 8, Isa. 38: 13. Amos (3: 3, 8,) compares the approaching divine judgments to the drawing near of a lion to his prey ; often also were these judgments executed by actual lions. 2 Kings 17: 25, 26, 1 Kings 13: 24 ; 20: 35 seq. These two powers, the ruling and the judging, form with the ancients the idea of majesty ; nay, they agree as perfectly synonymous. 1 Sam. 8: 5, seq. 1 Ks. 3: 9. The lions on the right and left of Solomon's throne, (1 Ks. 10: 19, 20,) were symbols of the royal majesty, in which the dignity of the ruler is united with that of the judge. This also and nothing else the lion in the cherub signifies.

c. The eagle among birds is what the lion is among quadrupeds ; he is the king of birds, not on account of his great size, but on account of his power of flight and of vision. The peculiar advantage possessed by birds over all other creatures in being able to elevate themselves of their own accord above the earth towards heaven, and to move about in immeasurable space by virtue of their wings, gave to them a very important place in the symbology of the ancients.

They were therefore regarded as the messengers and tongues of the gods, whose will and decision they brought from heaven to earth, and were thus entrusted with the divine counsels. (Job 28: 21.) Hence arose auspices, hence the custom maintained till the present day of giving to every thing which may be esteemed divine, heavenly, super-earthly, wings, as, for example, to angels, as the messengers of God. The cherubim, therefore, where anything more than their name is mentioned, are designated as winged. *Josephus* names them simply ζῶα πετενά, and *Philo* τὰ πτηνά. Now that which is the peculiarity of birds in general, belongs in the highest degree to the eagle: no bird has such a power of flight as he, *Jer.* 4: 13; 49: 22; no one flies so high and so far, hence his appellation ὑψιπέτης; none has so large wings, hence the appellation ταυτίπτερος. In like manner is the eagle distinguished by his power of sight, not only above all birds, but above all animals in general, so that eagle-eye and eagle-eyed are used proverbially. He sees his prey from the greatest elevation, where he is scarcely visible to the human eye. The ancients believed of him that he could perceive the small fishes in the sea, and could gaze steadily into the sun. That this peculiarity of the eagle is to be regarded in the cherub, is shown by the express statement of *Ezekiel* as well as by the *Apocalypse*, according to which they were full of eyes round about. *Rev.* 4: 6, 8, *Ez.* 10: 12. By virtue of his power of flight, which enables him to move most freely and swiftly in immeasurable space, the eagle is fitted as no other creature is to be the symbol of that living power of God, in consequence of which he is bound in his existence to no space, and so is the Omnipresent; while the extraordinary power of vision belonging to the king of birds points to the all-seeing eye of God, i. e. to the omniscience of God given with his omnipresence and inseparable from it, as both also are put together in the Holy Scriptures as closely connected with each other. *Ps.* 139: 1-12, *Jer.* 23: 23, 24. (Job 14: 13.)

d. Man has his high position above all the creatures of the visible world, not by virtue of his body and his soul, (naphesh, physical life); rather there are many, and particularly the animals with which he is connected in the cherub, superior to him in powers of body and soul: the ox in strength, the lion in courage and terribleness, the eagle in sharpness

of sight and the compass of his sphere of life. That which distinguishes him from all other $\zeta\omega\sigma\zeta$, that which is peculiar to him, is only the power of *intelligence*; the spirit, (Job 32: 8,) that lamp of Jehovah (Prov. 20: 2,) by virtue of which he is, in a stricter sense, the image of God. Now this, as the peculiarity of man in relation to the other essential parts of the cherub, is made prominent, and becomes an image of the intelligent power of God, of absolute spirituality. But while this expresses itself as a rational arrangement and disposition, both in respect to the creation as well as the qualities of all things created, so man in the cherub may well point to the divine wisdom.

Now, though we have found references to the powers of the divine life in the four essential parts of the cherub, we must yet by no means hold it to be absolutely a symbol of the divine attributes; rather must that be kept fully in view which has been shown to us respecting its import on the whole and in general. The cherub is anything sooner than a direct image of God himself; on the contrary, its essential character is that of a creature. It is an image of *the created* standing on its highest elevation, an ideal creature.

Those vital powers distributed in the visible creation to creatures of the highest rank, are combined and individualized in the cherub. As the whole creation is a testimony of the vital powers of Divinity, so also is the cherub, in which, by virtue of its four essential parts, the highest creature powers appear as an individual, which therefore is a representative of the whole creation, a witness of the creative power, majesty, omnipresence and omniscience, and finally of the absolute wisdom of God, revealing themselves through the whole kingdom of created beings. As such a witness, it serves for the honor and glory of God, nay, it is the actual, living praise of God; for hence in the Apocalypse the life, or rather the vital action of the four $\zeta\omega\sigma\zeta$ is placed in unceasing praise to God. "They have no rest day and night, saying, Holy, holy, holy is God the Almighty, who was and is and will be; and when the *living* (*beings*) bring praise and honor and thanks to Him who sitteth on the throne, who liveth forever and ever, then the four and twenty elders fall down and say: Thou art worthy, O, Lord, to receive praise and honor and power, for thou hast created all things, and by thy will they exist and were created." Rev. 4: 8.

The correctness of the explanation now given of the import of the cherub, becomes perfectly established, if we compare those passages where it is mentioned, with each other. It is to be noticed, in the first place, that if we set aside entirely for the present the tabernacle, the cherubim always occur in one of two connections, to wit: either with the "garden of God," Eden, paradise, or with the throne of God; and with the latter more frequently than the former. We find them first, Gen. 3: 24;—"And he (God) caused to dwell towards the east in the garden of Eden the cherubim and the flame of a sword turning itself, to guard the way of the tree of life." Eden, the garden of God, is no other than a place of life, where all breathes life and there is no death, where the creature-life appears in its entire fulness, power, bloom and grace. In its centre stands the tree of life (Gen. 2: 9), around which everything is green and flourishing, while streams of water pass through, refresh and animate this garden; it is full of living creatures, a garden of $\zeta\omega\alpha$. It is therefore named by the Rabbins "the land of life." *Philo* describes it likewise as the place of life, of incorruptibility, of immortality. In this garden of life God placed the creature into whom he had breathed the breath of life, so that it became a living soul, and the man was to cultivate and keep the garden (Gen. 2: 15). But when man became subject to death through disobedience, the place of life was no longer a dwelling-place corresponding to his condition, still less could he "keep it;" he was driven from the garden of God, and this was given to the cherubim for a dwelling-place, and they were to keep it. The connection itself here plainly shows, that the cherubim must be created beings to whom life by way of eminence belongs, creatures who possess the highest degree or elevation of creature life. Their residence is the place of life, their destination to guard the tree of life and the way thereto. The second passage, where the cherub is brought in connection with the garden of Eden, is Ezek. 28: 11-16. Here the king of Tyre is figuratively named a cherub, and it is said of him: "In Eden, in the garden of God, where thou dwellest." The accompanying description of the wisdom, beauty, might, greatness and glory of this king, clearly shows that the name cherub was applied to him because he was found on the summit of creature life. Everything great and glorious which this creation possesses

was united in him, as in the cherub. The fulness of life, good cheer, fortune, joy, satisfaction, surrounded him like as they were present in Eden. The more frequent connection of cherubim with the throne of God naturally presupposes a more intimate relation of the two to each other. According to our development of the fundamental idea of the cherub, this relation is easily shown. The throne of God is that place where God reveals most perfectly the fulness of his glory; but the cherubim, as we have seen, are the representatives of the entire creation, of the union of all, of the highest and most perfect revelations of God; they are, as such, the living, actual witnesses of God's glory.

Both throne and cherub have thus in common the idea of the revelation of divine glory, hence they necessarily belong together and do not allow of being separated. Hence also the interchange of the two is explained. As for example it is said of God: he sits upon the throne, Ps. 9: 5. 1 Kings 22: 19, so also: he sits upon the cherubim, Ps. 80: 2; 99: 1; 1 Sam. 4: 4; 2 Sam. 6: 2; 1 Chron. 13: 6; 2 Kings 19: 15; Isa. 37: 16, which means just the same as the expression by Ezek.: Jehovah's glory is over above the cherubim. In Psalm 18: 10, David describes a theophany, the descent and revelation of God in his whole might, majesty and glory to deliver the oppressed and to terrify his enemies. Thus in the expression "he rode upon a cherub," lies the particular idea, that Jehovah came down with his glory, with his throne which is in heaven. De Wette is certainly right in remarking: "Here also must we think of several cherubim bearing the throne of Jehovah, and so take cherub collectively. Moreover we should compare what is often said elsewhere of Jehovah: who moveth upon the heavens, Deut. 33: 26, Ps. 68: 34; com. v. 5, which refers no less to the divine glory and majesty, as they are revealed in heaven, the proper place of revelation for the glory of God. From all the passages it is at the same time clear, that a figurative use of the cherub was also made, i. e., a being compounded of an ox, lion, eagle and man was not thought of, but only the fundamental idea, best and most perfectly expressed by this composition, was held fast, namely, that of the highest grade of creature life reflecting and revealing the glory of God. This then was likewise the occasion of the frequent interchange of the cherubim with angels. The

cherubim indeed are never directly called angels in the Old Testament, but angels could receive the appellation cherubim, inasmuch as they are the highest order of creatures, whose dwelling-place is heaven, and whose employment is the praise of God.

To confirm and justify our view of the cherubim thus developed, we must now exhibit a comparison of the same with other more or less current explanations. The examination will relate partly to the *signification*, and partly to the *origin* of the cherubim.

1. Passing by the older explanations, especially those belonging to the class of highly eccentric typical ones, we turn at once to the more recent. These in general are distinguished by apprehending, on the one hand, the cherubim as *mythical beings*, or, on the other, as *symbols*. *Michaelis* already explained them to be essentially *mythical beings*, while he made them the “*equi tonantes*” of Jehovah, and compares them with the “*equis tonantibus*” of Jupiter.

This wholly one-sided hypothesis resting on Ps. 18 : 11, and already sufficiently refuted by *Herder*, may be regarded at the present time as entirely obsolete; hence we will not pause longer to consider it. The hypothesis made by *Herder* himself is more worthy of attention. According to him, the cherubim were originally strange, mythical animals, such as obtained frequently in the Orient, so that they may be compared to the dragons or griffins watching gold; as such they were the watchers and guards of Paradise. Moses, then, after the manner of the Egyptians, placed them on the ark of the covenant, from whence they made their way into the clouds, and finally became a poetic image and vision of the prophets; their nature and their destination thus, in the course of time, was changed. The different epochs in the process of change he thus gives: “In the earliest tradition, it was an honorable prodigy, in the tabernacle it was a lifeless work of art, in the psalms and poems an image, and finally in the prophetic vision ζῶον, a heavenly creature, bearer of the glory of God.” This explanation, especially so far as the comparison with griffins is concerned, has been approved, and very recently *Vatke* has directly maintained that they were “originally identical with the griffins;” he then farther explains them to be “originally a symbolical sign of the *unapproachable* divine presence, or of holiness in the older sense

of the word, (1 Sam. 5: 20, 2 Sam. 6: 9,) like as in the Greek mythology, the griffins appear, especially in connection with Apollo, as symbols of the *destructive* power of the gods. First, now, the fact that the cherubim were no extraordinary animals, nay, were in general no animals at all, which the griffins were, but $\zeta\omega\alpha$, images of life, one essential part of which was man precisely in his superiority over animal nature, argues against this grouping and identifying them with griffins; they are a symbolical image, a symbolical composition, such as occur with all the ancient nations, without having sprung from the griffins, as we shall farther on endeavor to show more accurately. Then, secondly, Gen. 3: 24 is too hardly pressed, or much is brought into it which falls away on closer examination, as erroneous, in order to succeed in classing the cherubim with griffins. The nature and destination of the griffins were undoubtedly to be guards or watchers; but this is by no means the exclusive character of the cherubim in Paradise. The passage is commonly translated: He placed them before the garden, or before the entrance of the same; and we at once think of a sentinel, door-keeper and the like. But the text says nothing of placing, but the language "He caused them to dwell," points to a residence. How incorrect it is to translate this passage "before," or even "before the entrance," is shown by the preceding second chapter, where we must then also translate v. 8, "God planted the garden in Eden before the entrance," which would be nonsense. It rather means, "upon the east side." Finally, ch. 2: 15, clearly shows that to keep, is not to be taken in the sense of to stand sentinels, for there it is said of the man, "and God placed him in the garden of Eden to keep it;" thus the same was incumbent on man before the fall which was on the cherubim after he was driven from the garden; the cherubim, therefore, can no more be compared with the griffins than can the first man. The proper point of comparison, that of being guards and watchers, consequently falls away as entirely unfounded. But it was the destination of the cherubim to be watchers and guards, still less in the tabernacle and the temple, than in Paradise. In that case they could not have stood *upon* the throne and formed one whole with the same, which yet the Record sets forth so expressly and so prominently, while it requires that the cherubim should be made from one piece of gold, with the

throne, and not merely be placed upon it. (Ex. 25 : 18.) As watchers, they must have stood before the throne or at the entrance into the sanctuary, if this had been their exclusive and principal character. But instead of standing only at the entrance, they are rather found on all the walls, and above, on the cover of the whole sanctuary, so that they appear not as guards, but properly as dwellers in the same.

But, thirdly, they fail most signally in this identifying the cherubim with the griffins, inasmuch as they adhere in a one-sided manner to Gen. 3 : 24, instead of comparing the collected passages treating of the cherubim, and thus seeking and pointing out the common fundamental idea of the cherub ; and then because the nature of the cherubim occurring later cannot be made to harmonize with the destination which they believe must be given to them in this passage, it is arbitrarily and unnecessarily assumed, that they afterwards changed their original design and signification more and more, till at last they became entirely other beings. It is quite obvious, and moreover is generally admitted, that the four Apocalyptic ζῷα are most strictly related to those of Ezekiel, but these latter again are the same as those on the temple walls (Ezek. 41 : 18, seq.), and so stand in close relationship to those in Solomon's temple, while, finally, those in Solomon's temple are a copy of those in the tabernacle. Thus the Apocalyptic ζῷα stand in an indirect connection, at least with those in the tabernacle. If, now, the latter had their origin from the cherubim of Paradise identical with the griffins, there must, also, by virtue of that connection and relationship, something at least characteristic of the griffin appear in the Apocalyptic ζῷα ; but where is a trace, even, of this to be discovered ? Therefore, no one has ever dreamed of thinking of griffins in connection with the Apocalyptic ζῷοις. According to our view of them, on the other hand, the cherubim, from the first to the last book of the Bible, those of Genesis and those of the Apocalypse, with every modification in particular and unessential parts, have yet in common one grand and fundamental idea, so that we can assert the first are as little identical with griffins as the last. The assertion that the cherubim designated the unapproachable presence of God, though not wholly incorrect, is one-sided and divergent, and not fully satisfactory. Undoubtedly they have a reference to the presence of God : for they stand in strict connection with the

throne of God, but not because they are griffins, i. e. guards and watchers, but because they represent the highest order of creature life, and are, therefore, the most direct and perfect reflection of the divine glory ; unapproachableness on the part of men is a result flowing first from this. Man does not stand on the summit of creature existence, and hence he will not do to come directly before the throne of God, or into the immediate presence of God ; hence, also, to touch the symbolical throne of God is considered temerity on the part of man, a punishable self-exaltation above the rank assigned him by God. While it is in itself highly improbable that beings so important as the cherubim should only have a purely negative design, namely, to mark the idea of unapproachableness, the unsatisfactory character of such a view is also shown in the fact, that by it the choice of precisely those four beings, man, ox, eagle and lion, for the elements of the cherub, is not only inexplicable, but also appears entirely arbitrary and without any reference to the pretended grand design of the whole : we should then rather expect four purely terrible animals ; no regard is had moreover to the number of these, *four*, which could not happen according to the analogy of so many other Mosaic symbols. But according to our view, on the other hand, the choice and the number of these elements have their necessary ground in the general idea of the cherub.

Another later hypothesis holds the cherubim to be "mythical servants of Jehovah for discharging offices about his person, his waiters as it were," and places them emphatically under the angels, "whose position is rather that of beings who are their own masters, yet serving spontaneously, and whose service is of a higher kind, so that the cherubim, contrasted with them, appear as "servile laborers." "Before the entrance into Paradise" they were to "repel any return thither of the men driven out of it," on the walls of the tabernacle and temple they "formed espaliers," upon the ark of the covenant they were "to stand as a warning that one should not look upon it," in the Psalms they were "thought of under the character of such as bear Jehovah through the air, especially in furious winds and tempests," with Ezekiel it is likewise "their principal service to appear as bearers of Jehovah's throne, and as vehicles of his movement from place to place." This whole theory is grounded or based on that

view of the *rationalismus vulgaris* which imputed to the Mosaic system a God, who is the perfect copy of an oriental despot or tyrant, and requires also to be served as such. Oversight or ignorance of the facts hitherto proved by so many documents, that in all, but especially in oriental antiquity, kings were looked upon as the gods of earth, that their entire form of government and relations as sovereigns took their direction from religious representations of the divine government, and not the reverse of this, has here revenged itself in a certain measure and led some astray to the uncommon insipidity and triviality of declaring the cherubim to be Jehovah's menials, waiting-servants and drivers-men, and to lend them a certain military character.

Yet disregarding entirely that erroneous fundamental view, it is strikingly wrong to define the relation of cherubim to angels as that of bondmen to freemen. The cherubim were always supposed to stand in the closest connection with the throne of God, but this is only the case with the highest servants of a king. The throne of the Persian kings, an imitation of the throne of Ormuzd, was immediately surrounded by the seven highest officers of State, corresponding to the seven heavenly spirits who immediately surround the throne of Ormuzd. Moreover, it lies in the nature of the case, that where the revelation of God's glory in created beings reaches its culminating point, at the throne, not creatures of a lower kind, but the highest, most perfect and glorious were imagined. When the creatures of heaven were, at a later period, divided into classes, the cherubim, accordingly, did not take an inferior place, as we have already remarked, but always formed the highest class of angels. They also appear at the head of created beings in the Apocalypse, a fact which *Züllig*, inconsistently in truth, recognizes, while he holds the Apocalyptic throne to be a copy of the one described in Ezekiel. Then in respect to the service which the cherubim, as compared with the angels, perform, the very reverse of what is asserted holds true; lower services were assigned to the angels, to wit, services with man and for them, services on earth, (Ps. 34: 8; 91: 11, Heb. 1: 14,) while the cherubim never serve men, but only God, never on earth, but only in heaven and heavenly places. This view, moreover, shows the incorrect explanation of Gen. 3: 24, with that of *Herder*, but at least the latter must be designated from it "an unfounded

representation." Philo already held the cherubim to be *symbols*, and, indeed, to be symbols of the *divine perfections*. Without precisely pointing out the essential parts, he maintains that they are images of the two highest and first powers of divinity, the creating power and that of ruling. *Grotius* also apprehends them as symbols of the divine attributes: man designates *goodness*, the lion anger (justice) of God, the eagle swiftness to beneficence, the ox slowness to wrath.

This explanation somewhat modified is found in Bochart, whom Rosenmüller in the Scholia on Gen. 3: 24, has followed; in the ox he sees an image of the *constantia* and *firmitas*, in the man an image of the *humanitas*, *lenitas* and *pietatis*, in the lion an image of the *generositas* and *robur*, in the eagle, finally, an image of the *vigor* and the *sublimitas* of a naturæ coelestis. De Wette also takes them to be symbols of the "strength, might, and wisdom of God, and of his nearness," or also to be "personifications of the powers of nature which are in the service of Jehovah." As a general objection to this way of conceiving them, that is to be mentioned which has already been remarked above, that the principal character of the cherubim in which everything else is contained, consists in their being *creatures*, i. e., creatures; they are not and should not be direct images of God, or of individual and indeed the highest divine vital powers, for in that case they would certainly fall under the prohibition of the second of the ten commandments, and belong in one category with the golden calf and the images of Jehovah made by Jeroboam. No greater inconsistency can be thought of, than, on the one side, to prohibit the portraiture of Jehovah by the punishment of death or extirpation, and yet in the sanctuary itself to ordain images which represented the most important attributes of God and expressions of the divine life in their connection with one another, in their unity, and thus in a certain measure God himself. Only *creatures* could be represented, and in fact *as such*; the cherubim, though no actual creature, are and ever remain *creatures*, and could be in this quality only witnesses of divine attributes and powers, but not these themselves; but they are images of the highest and most perfect creatures, in which the powers of the divine life are reflected. Moreover it must be added, and this will not be denied, that they bear the character of beings who serve, venerate, and adore God; if now they were

themselves personifications or symbols of the royal power and majesty of God, then would majesty humble itself before majesty, and omnipotence serve omnipotence ; in short, God would bow before himself. But least of all do the cherubim admit of being apprehended as personified powers of nature ; for what mean these on the walls of the inner sanctuary, which is an image of heaven, where particularly the powers of nature here spoken of, thunder, lightning and earthquake (Ps. 18,) no more appear ? What mean the powers of nature as dwellers in the garden of Eden ? But this whole symbolical way of apprehending the cherubim shows itself not less unfounded by virtue of its explanation of the individual essential parts of the same. It not only has no reason why the essential parts are precisely *four*, but it unites two of them for the designation of one and the same attribute. Or if it interprets each element individually, yet this takes place without any definite regard to precisely that which is the characteristic of each one. The explanation of *Grotius* is entirely out of the way, which apprehends the ox as the symbol of the divine forbearance, *slowness*, and in connection with the lion finds a designation of that which God *is not*. Neither can the ox hold as an image of constancy, while this is no proper expression of the divine life, but only a form of the same, an accident ; and why man should signify precisely goodness, is also not to be seen. The divine goodness, so far as it furnishes bodily blessings, was included to the Hebrew in the constant creative manifestation of the life of God ; *goodness* as *grace* coincides, to him, with the holiness of God.

2. *The origin of the cherubim* was sought as early as by Spencer in Egypt ; with great expenditure of learning and much copiousness, he maintained that the cherubim were a copy of the Egyptian sphynxes. This view of their Egyptian origin has not only obtained till the present time here and there, but is the one generally received ; and the latest investigations speak of it as a thing made out, and which can no longer be a matter of doubt. Irrespective of the general reasons given in the introduction § iv., p. 42, against the adoption of Egyptian elements of worship and symbols, among the latter of which the cherubim occupy so important a place, the following of a special character oppose this hypothesis, which is held with so much confidence : (a.) Symbolical com-

pounds of animals are farthest of all from being anything peculiarly and exclusively Egyptian ; they are common to all ancient nations, but especially to the Oriental. The greatest number and variety are found among the inhabitants of India, which is inexhaustible in them ; it is quite unnecessary to name and describe specimens of these numberless figures of which the many copies or drawings now current testify. In great multitudes the like are also met with among the Babylonians, as, e. g., upon the stone found at Tak-Khesra, of which *Münter* has furnished a copy, is to be seen a whole series of these strange images. The Babylonians used particularly to represent such images of combined animals upon the tapestry with which their temples were decorated and with which they carried on an extensive traffic ; while nothing of this sort is found in Egypt. The ruins of Persepolis testify that the Persians also had various combinations of animals. The planet gods of the Chaldeans were collectively the same sort of images. The Chinese mythology has its animal combinations, and we only make mention of Moloch among the Phœnician. Very odd animal images occur in multitudes among the Arabians. The Greeks and Romans were moreover acquainted with these symbolical forms ; only think of Pan, the nymphs, the sea monsters, &c., especially of the Orphic Phanes, the creator of the world, who sprung from the egg of an ox, serpent, man, and woman, united. From all which it follows, that Moses needed not to learn the uniting of different creatures to one whole from the Egyptians, but that it was an entirely general custom in the ancient symbolology of all nations. (b.) Now the composition of the cherub has throughout no prominent similarity with the Egyptian images of animals in particular, as must necessarily have been the case if it were precisely an Egyptian copy. The sphynxes are composed of a lion and man (yet, which is important, a maiden), and thus they want not only the eagle, but also the ox, which, according to most, should be regarded as the principal element of the cherub.

With the same propriety, then, the cherub may be taken for a copy of the griffin of India, which in like manner has two elements of the cherub, namely, the lion and the eagle ; the Phœnician Moloch also has two of the same, namely the man and the ox, &c. Least of all could wings merely authorize any identification of such animal compounds, for these

appear almost universally, as the signs of a higher, heavenly origin, on all similar extraordinary animals. But one particularly appeals to the drawings in the great French work on Egypt, where a multitude of cherubs are found. This assertion is quite strange. I have carefully examined and compared all the images to which we are specially referred, but except the wings which, as remarked, all similar animal-compounds with other nations likewise possess, not the remotest resemblance to the Mosaic cherubim could be discovered. Among the innumerable animal-compounds on Egyptian works of art, there is moreover no one, I say, *no one*, which consists of the four $\zeta\delta\omega\iota\varsigma$ of the cherub; nay, not a single one which unites in itself three parts only of the same. Züllig maintains very distinctly, that the ox is the principal and fundamental figure of the Jewish cherub, and yet at the same time explains, "the body of these Egyptian cherubs is either that of a man or that of a bird;" and accordingly he then admits, "that the body of an ox in the Jewish cherub may have been a work of their own fancy." Why must the cherub be positively of Egyptian origin, if just in the most essential part, in the principal figure, it is original, and also has in other respects nothing farther in common with the Egyptian images than the wings, which the extraordinary animals of India, Persia, China, Babylon, Arabia and Greece also have? But the invalidity and groundlessness of this hypothesis of the Egyptian origin of the cherubim appears most fully in this: that while we seek in vain after parallels in Egypt, compositions are found in other nations, which in a remarkable manner unite in themselves either all or most part of the elements of the cherub. Thus, for example, the four heads of a lion, an ox, a man and an eagle form one whole upon an Indian image, which is girt about by a serpent as by a frame. But who ventures therefore to maintain that Moses borrowed his cherubim from the inhabitants of India, or that the proud priest-caste of India borrowed them of the despised Hebrew? Upon another Indian image are found the five creatures: man, lion, eagle, ox and he-goat, which are collectively winged. These are not indeed blended or melted into each other, but they are closely bound together in one whole. One of the extraordinary animals on the entrance into the palace of Persepolis has the countenance of a man, the wings of an eagle, the mane and tail of a lion, and

a body, concerning which one does not certainly see whether it belongs to a unicorn or not ; many take its feet to be ox-hoofs. But this leads us (c,) to the origin of animal-combinations in general. This lies, no doubt, in the general symbolical view of antiquity.

Natural life, which becomes identical in natural religions with the life of divinity, has reached its highest elevation in the kingdom of the $\zeta\omega\alpha$, but in this kingdom itself, the natural life reveals itself again in manifold and distinct ways, so that it is broken up, as it were, into many classes and individuals. The longing of the human spirit to apprehend the divine, not as something broken in pieces, but, so far as possible, as a unity, made now for itself images, in which the different powers of nature or divinity, the different expressions of the life of nature, according as men held them to be the most important and perfect, and saw them especially prominent in particular classes of animals, were united together for a collective view, and made up *one whole*. Every people therefore united such creatures for its images, as according to its view appeared to be a striking expression of certain powers of nature or of the divine Being and life.

That in particular parts there should here often be an agreement, is much more explicable than if the opposite were the case. The race of birds expressed for all people that power which is elevated above the earth, and bound to no space ; hence wings were everywhere the symbol and attribute of the super-earthly, spiritual, divine. The ox was in like manner to all nations the symbol of the productive, creative power ; the lion a symbol of the royal power and majesty : how obvious now was it to unite the ox and lion with each other, or to add wings to each of these animals. Just so was it very natural that they should represent the divinities of the water and sea by means of particular parts of fishes : fishes refer in general to water, and this indeed was held to be the primitive soil or ground of all creatures. Hence, as one could join together an ox and lion, so also could one a fish and lion, &c. To this we add, that in the Zodiac certain constellations were designated by animals ; the conjunctions of the heavenly bodies, so important for sublunary life (which heavenly bodies again were considered to be gods), could not be represented more easily than by the uniting of particular parts of those animals into one whole. Thus, e. g., an idol at

Elephantine, which was a man with a ram's head and a buck's horns, according to the explanation of Eusebius, points to the conjunction of the sun and moon in Aries. Now the Israelitish cherub has in common with these animal combinations of natural religion, only the general symbolical and outward form ; its nature is totally different.

The identification of the life of nature with the life of the Deity, lies at the basis of the heathen images ; and they are then direct images and representations of the Godhead himself, proper idols ; but, what is precisely the reverse, the *distinction* between Creator and creature, between God and the world, as Mosaism made him prominent in opposition to Paganism, lies at the basis of the cherub. As consisting of the highest creatures of the visible world, the cherub represents the creature life in its highest degree, and is therefore at the same time a representative of the entire world of creatures ; but in that it appears at the same time as a servant of Jehovah, the entire creation bows down in and with it before the Creator, who, as the Jewish adage, quoted above, and referring directly to the four creatures forming the cherub, says, is infinitely elevated above all. The cherub, therefore, is no more a heathenish copy, than Mosaism in general is a copy of natural religion.

ARTICLE V.

RECENT HISTORIES OF NORTH AMERICA.

Irving's Life of Columbus ; Prescott's Conquest of Mexico ; Graham's Colonial History ; Bancroft's Colonization of the United States, and Hildreth's History of the United States.

VARIOUS considerations unite in giving superlative interest to the history of the northern portion of our Western Continent. It is our own country ; and we are in so many ways identified with the transactions which are embraced in these chronicles, that it would be unnatural in the extreme did we not kindle with unwonted ardor in their perusal. Then, too, the unlikeness of this to most other histories in the veritable

and well-authenticated character of its records, gives it enhanced importance. It does not, like most others, commence in the region of fable, and gradually emerge from the misty uncertainty of a remote and obscure origin. The discovery of this continent is an event of modern occurrence ; it was accompanied by the infant art of printing, whereby the journals of those who explored and settled the New World, were multiplied and preserved ; so that original and most satisfactory documents remain as the materials of this history. Furthermore the events themselves, from first to last, have been of a character admirably adapted to fix on them the highest degree of attention. It is not the record of the progress of mankind from a state of rude barbarism to one of civilization, which transition is always slow and generally similar. But we here trace the operation of an enlightened people, coming in contact with uncultivated nature—the various effects of different creeds, systems, and principles of civilization, on the rude native masses which they have so rapidly supplanted or subordinated to their domination. For all these reasons we have thought that a portion of the pages of a Christian Review might be profitably and interestingly occupied with some notice of a complete series of such writings on these subjects as are most accessible and most highly prized among our countrymen.

The student of this history will naturally desire to begin with the discovery of this western world in the close of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth century. The admirable work of our own distinguished *Washington Irving*, will place before the common reader all that he can desire in this department of his course of study.* We do not propose by any brief epitome to make our pages a substitute for the perusal of these enchanting volumes ; but, on the contrary, by such slight specimens as our limits will allow, to incite the interest, direct the attention, and sharpen the appetite for this species of literary investigation. Fain would we hope, too, that the hand of God in all the series of events here recorded, may be made more obvious, and the lessons of a divine wisdom here unfolded, may draw forth more devout and grateful ac-

*The copy which we now use, and to which the references of this article are made, is the admirable edition just published by Geo. P. Putnam, New York, entitled, "The Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus and his Companions. Author's revised edition, in 3 vols. 12 mo."—as beautiful and chaste in its mechanical execution, as it is unrivalled in literary excellence.

knowledgements to Him who presides over all the affairs of men.

Let us carry ourselves back in imagination to the period when Columbus, or Colon, as he wrote his name, an humble Genoese navigator, after having in vain spent years at the Court of Lisbon in striving to enlist the Portuguese to encourage his adventures of sailing west until he should circumnavigate the globe and arrive at the rich countries of "India and Cathay;" and after other years as unsuccessful in soliciting the king and queen of Spain to grant him the required assistance, he at last finds a grand council assembled at Salamanca to hear and decide on his proposed schemes. What a striking spectacle must the hall of the old Convent have presented at this memorable conference! A simple mariner standing forth in the midst of an imposing array of professors, friars, and dignitaries of the church, maintaining his theory with natural eloquence, and pleading the cause of the New World. At the very threshold of the discussion, Columbus was assailed with citations from the Bible, instead of geographical objections. To these were added the expositions of the saints and early fathers of the church, *then* held in the highest repute. The possibility of the globular form of the earth, and of the opposite side of it being inhabited, which had been admitted by Pliny and many of the ancients, was confuted as rank heresy, on the authority of these fathers. Take as a specimen the following quotation from Lactantius, which was actually adduced as conclusive, in this memorable council. "Is there any one so foolish," he asks, "as to believe that there are antipodes, with their feet opposite to ours; people who walk with their heels upwards and their heads hanging down? That there is a part of this world in which all things are topsy-turvy; where the trees grow with their branches downward, and where it rains, hails and snows upward? The idea of the roundness of the earth," he adds, "was the cause of inventing this fable of the antipodes, with their heels in the air; for these philosophers having once erred, go on in their absurdities, defending one with another." In a similar way Augustine was quoted as maintaining that, to assert that there were inhabited lands on the other side of the globe, would be to maintain that there were nations not descended from Adam, it being impossible for them to have passed the intervening ocean! Such are samples of the

ignorance and pedantic bigotry with which Columbus had to contend, throughout the examination of his theory. The following paragraph is a happy specimen of Irving's graphic art :

"When Columbus took his stand before this learned body, he had appeared the plain and simple navigator; somewhat daunted, perhaps, by the greatness of his task, and the august nature of his auditory. But he had a degree of religious feeling which gave him a confidence in the execution of what he conceived his great errand; and he was of an ardent temperament that became heated in action by its own generous fires. Las Casas and others of his contemporaries, have spoken of his commanding person, his elevated demeanor, his air of authority, his kindling eye, and the persuasive intonations of his voice. How must they have given majesty and force to his words, as, casting aside his maps and charts, and discarding for a time his practical and scientific lore, his visionary spirit took fire at the doctrinal objections of his opponents, and he met them upon their own ground, pouring forth those magnificent texts of Scripture, and those mysterious predictions of the prophets, which, in his enthusiastic moments, he considered as types and annunciations of the sublime discovery which he proposed!"

Not with the aid of this council's decision, but notwithstanding this opposition, Columbus at length gains the favor of Ferdinand and Isabella, particularly the latter, and realizes his fondest hopes. His biographer thus presents the influence of his example :

"Let those who are disposed to faint under difficulties, in the prosecution of any great and worthy undertaking, remember that eighteen years elapsed after the time that Columbus conceived his enterprise, before he was enabled to carry it into effect; that the greater part of that time was passed in almost hopeless solicitation, amidst poverty, neglect, and taunting ridicule; that the prime of his life had wasted away in the struggle, and that when his perseverance was finally crowned with success, he was about his fifty-sixth year. His example should encourage the enterprising never to despair."

Then follows the familiar record of his eventful first voyage to the New World, his discovery of the West India Islands, his intercourse with the simple-minded natives; the mingling of religious rites, plans, hopes, and endeavors with all the enterprise; the misapprehensions at first, in regard to these natives, and the corrected impression which subsequent connection gave him. The following extracts will present a brief and general view of this matter :

"Columbus had also at first indulged in the error that the natives of Hayti were destitute of all notions of religion, and he had consequently

flattered himself that it would be easier to introduce into their minds the doctrines of Christianity ; not aware that it is more difficult to light up the fire of devotion in the cold heart of an atheist, than to direct the flame to a new object, when it is already enkindled. There are few beings, however, so destitute of reflection, as not to be impressed with the conviction of an overruling deity. A nation of atheists never existed. It was soon discovered that these islanders had their creed, though of a vague and simple nature. They believed in one supreme being, inhabiting the sky, who was immortal, omnipotent, and invisible ; to whom they ascribed an origin, who had a mother, but no father. They never addressed their worship directly to him, but employed inferior deities, called *Zemes*, as messengers and mediators. Each cacique had his tutelar deity of this order, whom he invoked and pretended to consult in all his public undertakings, and who was reverenced by his people. He had a house apart, as a temple to this deity, in which was an image of his *Zemi*, carved of wood or stone, or shaped of clay or cotton, and generally of some monstrous and hideous form. Each family and each individual had likewise a particular *Zemi*, or protecting genius, like the *Lares* and *Penates* of the ancients. They were placed in every part of their houses, or carved on their furniture ; some had them of small size, and bound them about their foreheads when they went to battle. They believed their *Zemes* to be transferable, with all their powers, and often stole them from each other. When the Spaniards came among them, they often hid their idols, lest they should be taken away. They believed that these *Zemes* presided over every object in nature, each having a particular charge or government. They influenced the seasons and the elements, causing sterile or abundant years ; exciting hurricanes and whirlwinds, and tempests of rain and thunder, or sending sweet and temperate breezes and fruitful showers. They governed the seas and forests, the springs and fountains ; like the *Nereids*, the *Dryads*, and *Satyrs* of antiquity. They gave success in hunting and fishing ; they guided the waters of the mountains into safe channels, and led them down to wander through the plains, in gentle brooks and peaceful rivers ; or, if incensed, they caused them to burst forth into rushing torrents and overwhelming floods, inundating and laying waste the valleys."

"The natives had their *Butios*, or priests, who pretended to hold communion with these *Zemes*. They practised rigorous fasts and ablutions, and inhaled the powder, or drank the infusion of a certain herb, which produced a temporary intoxication or delirium. In the course of this process, they professed to have trances and visions, and that the *Zemes* revealed to them future events, or instructed them in the treatment of maladies. They were, in general, great herbalists, and well acquainted with the medicinal properties of trees and vegetables. They cured diseases through their knowledge of simples, but always with many mysterious rites and ceremonies, and supposed charms ; chanting, and burning a light in the chamber of the patient, and pretending to exorcise the malady, to expel it from the mansion, and to send it to the sea or to the mountain."

"Their bodies were painted or tattooed with figures of the *Zemes*, which were regarded with horror by the Spaniards, as so many representations of the devil ; and the *Butios*, esteemed as saints by the natives,

were abhorred by the former as necromancers. These Butios often assisted the caciques in practising deceptions upon their subjects, speaking oracularly through the Zemes, by means of hollow tubes; inspiriting the Indians to battle by predicting success, or dealing forth such promises or menaces as might suit the purposes of the chieftain."

The transportation, for the purpose of enslavement, of many of these simple-minded natives, is thus described :

"Columbus in his eagerness to produce immediate profit, and to indemnify the sovereigns for those expenses which bore hard upon the royal treasury, sent above five hundred Indian prisoners, who, he suggested, might be sold as slaves at Seville."

"It is painful to find the brilliant renown of Columbus sullied by so foul a stain. The customs of the times, however, must be pleaded in his apology. The precedent had been given, long before, by both Spaniards and Portuguese, in their African discoveries, wherein the traffic in slaves had formed one of the greatest sources of profit. In fact, the practice had been sanctioned by the church itself, and the most learned theologians had pronounced all barbarous and infidel nations, who shut their ears to the truths of Christianity, fair objects of war and rapine, of captivity and slavery. If Columbus needed any practical illustration of this doctrine, he had it in the conduct of Ferdinand himself, in his late wars with the Moors of Granada, in which he had always been surrounded by a crowd of ghostly advisers, and had professed to do everything for the glory and advancement of the faith. In this holy war, as it was termed, it was a common practice to make inroads into the Moorish territories and carry off *cavalgadas*, not merely of flocks and herds, but of human beings, and those not warriors taken with weapons in their hands, but quiet villagers, laboring peasantry, and helpless women and children. These were carried to the mart at Seville, or to other populous towns, and sold into slavery. The capture of Malaga was a memorable instance, where, as a punishment for an obstinate and brave defence, which should have excited admiration rather than revenge, eleven thousand people of both sexes, and of all ranks and ages, many of them highly cultivated and delicately reared, were suddenly torn from their homes, severed from each other, and swept into menial slavery, even though half of their ransoms had been paid. These circumstances are not advanced to vindicate, but to palliate the conduct of Columbus. He acted but in conformity to the customs of the times, and was sanctioned by the example of the sovereign under whom he served. Las Casas, the zealous and enthusiastic advocate of the Indians, who suffers no opportunity to escape him of exclaiming in vehement terms against their slavery, speaks with indulgence of Columbus on this head. If those pious and learned men, he observes, whom the sovereigns took for guides and instructors, were so ignorant of the injustice of this practice, it is no wonder that the unlettered admiral should not be conscious of its impropriety."

We are sorry to find the discoverer of the New World as largely participant in "*the chivalry of glorious war*," as he

had been in the infamous slave-trade. After the wanton, unprovoked violence and licentiousness of his followers had provoked the feeble, ignorant islanders to resistance, his military exploits against them are thus recorded :—

“ The whole sound and effective force that he could muster, in the present infirm state of the colony, did not exceed two hundred infantry and twenty horse. They were armed with cross-bows, swords, lances, and espingardas, or heavy arquebuses, which in those days were used with rests, and sometimes mounted on wheels. With these formidable weapons, a handful of European warriors, cased in steel and covered with bucklers, were able to cope with thousands of naked savages. They had aid of another kind, however, consisting of twenty blood-hounds, animals scarcely less terrible to the Indians than the horses, and infinitely more fatal. They were fearless and ferocious; nothing daunted them, nor when they had once seized upon their prey, could any thing compel them to relinquish their hold. The naked bodies of the Indians offered no defence against their attacks. They sprang on them, dragged them to the earth, and tore them to pieces.”

“ Columbus drew near to the enemy about the place where the town of St. Jago has since been built. The Indian army, under Manicaotex, was posted on a plain interspersed with clusters of forest-trees, now known as the Savanna of Matanza. Having ascertained the great force of the enemy, Don Bartholemew advised that their little army should be divided into detachments, and should attack the Indians at the same moment from several quarters: this plan was adopted. The infantry, separating into different bodies, advanced suddenly from various directions with great din of drums and trumpets, and a destructive discharge of fire-arms from the covert of the trees. The Indians were thrown into complete confusion. An army seemed pressing upon them from every quarter, their fellow-warriors to be laid low with thunder and lightning from the forests. While driven together and confounded by these attacks, Alonzo de Ojeda charged their main body impetuously with his troop of cavalry, cutting his way with lance and sabre. The horses bore down the terrified Indians, while their riders dealt their blows on all sides unopposed. The blood-hounds at the same time rushed upon the naked savages, seizing them by the throat, dragging them to the earth, and tearing out their bowels. The Indians, unaccustomed to large and fierce quadrupeds of any kind, were struck with horror when assailed by these ferocious animals. They thought the horses equally fierce and devouring. The contest, if such it might be called, was of short duration.”

“ The Indians fled in every direction with yells and howlings; some clambered to the top of rocks and precipices, whence they made piteous supplications, and offers of complete submission; many were killed, many made prisoners, and the confederacy was for the time completely broken up and dispersed.”

We cannot stop to describe the various experiences of Columbus himself. In his case is exhibited those alternations

of fortune, which well denominate her the fickle goddess. One day he is seen exulting in the possession of the highest honors, and almost immediately we behold him degraded to the lowest state of suffering and indignity. Twice was he ignominiously carried back to Spain, once in chains, from the New World which he had discovered. To the very last, the machinations of his enemies, and possibly some imprudencies of his own, kept him embroiled in inextricable difficulties. His character is thus elaborately drawn by the eloquent biographer :

“ Great men are compounds of great and little qualities. Indeed, much of their greatness arises from their mastery over the imperfections of their nature, and their noblest actions are sometimes struck forth by the collision of their merits and their defects.”

“ In Columbus were singularly combined the practical and the poetical. His mind grasped all kinds of knowledge, whether procured by study or observation, which bore upon his theories; impatient of the scanty aliment of the day ‘ his impetuous ardor,’ as has well been observed, ‘ threw him into the study of the fathers of the church, the Arabian Jews, and the ancient geographers;’ while his daring but irregular genius, bursting from the limits of imperfect science, bore him to conclusions far beyond the intellectual vision of his contemporaries. If some of his conclusions were erroneous, they were at least ingenious and splendid; and their error resulted from the clouds which still hung over his peculiar path of enterprise. His own discoveries enlightened the ignorance of the age, guided conjecture to certainty, and dispelled that very darkness with which he had been obliged to struggle.”

“ Columbus was a man of quick sensibility, liable to great excitement, to sudden and strong impressions, and powerful impulses. He was naturally irritable and impetuous, and keenly sensible to injury and injustice; yet the quickness of his temper was counteracted by the benevolence and generosity of his heart. The magnanimity of his nature shone forth through all the troubles of his stormy career. Though continually outraged in his dignity, and braved in the exercise of his command; though foiled in his plans, and endangered in his person by the seditions of turbulent and worthless men, and that too at times when suffering under anxiety of mind and anguish of body sufficient to exasperate the most patient, yet he restrained his valiant and indignant spirit, by the strong powers of his mind, and brought himself to forbear, and reason, and even to supplicate: nor should we fail to notice how free he was from all feeling of revenge, how ready to forgive and forget, on the least signs of repentance and atonement. He has been extolled for his skill in controlling others; but far greater praise is due to him for his firmness in governing himself.”

“ His natural benignity made him accessible to all kinds of pleasurable sensations from external objects. In his letters and journals, instead of detailing circumstances with the technical precision of a mere navigator, he notices the beauties of nature with the enthusiasm of a poet or a painter. As he coasts the shores of the New World, the reader

participates in the enjoyment with which he describes, in his imperfect but picturesque Spanish, the varied objects around him; the blandness of the temperature, the purity of the atmosphere, the fragrance of the air, 'full of dew and sweetness,' the verdure of the forests, the magnificence of the trees, the grandeur of the mountains, and the limpidity and freshness of the running streams. New delight springs up for him in every scene. He extols each new discovery as more beautiful than the last, and each as the most beautiful in the world; until, with his simple earnestness, he tells the sovereigns, that, having spoken so highly of the preceding islands, he fears that they will not credit him, when he declares that the one he is actually describing surpasses them all in excellence."

"He was devoutly pious; religion mingled with the whole course of his thoughts and actions, and shone forth in his most private and unstudied writings. Whenever he made any great discovery, he celebrated it by solemn thanks to God. The voice of prayer and melody of praise rose from his ships when they first beheld the New World, and his first action on landing was to prostrate himself upon the earth, and return thanksgivings. Every evening, the *Salve Regina*, and other vesper hymns, were chanted by his crew, and masses were performed in the beautiful groves bordering the wild shores of this heathen land."

"All his great enterprises were undertaken in the name of the Holy Trinity, and he partook of the communion previous to embarkation. He was a firm believer in the efficacy of vows and penances and pilgrimages, and resorted to them in times of difficulty and danger. The religion thus deeply seated in his soul diffused a sober dignity and divine composure over his whole demeanor. His language was pure and guarded, free from all imprecations, oaths, and other irreverent expressions."

"With all the visionary fervor of his imagination, its fondest dreams fell short of the reality. He died in ignorance of the real grandeur of his discovery. Until his last breath he entertained the idea that he had merely opened a new way to the old resorts of opulent commerce, and had discovered some of the wild regions of the East. He supposed Hispaniola to be the ancient Ophir which had been visited by the ships of Solomon, and that Cuba and Terra Firma were but remote parts of Asia."

"What visions of glory would have broken upon his mind could he have known that he had indeed discovered a new continent, equal to the whole of the Old World in magnitude, and separated by two vast oceans from all the earth hitherto known by civilized man! And how would his magnanimous spirit have been consoled, amidst the afflictions of age and the cares of penury, the neglect of a fickle public and the injustice of an ungrateful king, could he have anticipated the splendid empires which were to spread over the beautiful world he had discovered, and the nations, and tongues, and languages which were to fill its lands with his renown, and revere and bless his name to the latest posterity!"

The third of these volumes Mr. Irving has filled with sketches of the discoveries and various fortunes of the com-

panions of Columbus. The brave Ojeda ; the artful Americus, who has so successfully supplanted Columbus in giving his name to the New World ; Nunez, the discoverer of the Pacific Ocean, and his melancholy fate, with several others, we should like to notice more particularly, but must hasten to the second of the works noticed at the head of this article.

The Conquest of Mexico, by Mr. Prescott, deservedly ranks high among the permanent historical labors of the age. The topic which he had to treat was one of an uncommon character. His hero, Cortes, endowed with noble and commanding traits of character, and permitted to secure a measure of success surpassing the dreams of his loftiest ambition, presents a point of attraction around which genius can easily gather the brightest garlands. We could indeed have wished it otherwise :—that the materials had been accessible to have enabled the historian to assume another, and the opposite stand-point ;—to have made the Mexicans, not their wrongful invaders and conquerors, the theme and direct subjects of the history ; so that in perusing his work, we might be enabled to regard the transactions in the light they would be viewed, if seen by a beholder identifying himself in spirit, feeling and interest with the injured, rather than those who butchered and enslaved them. But these materials have not been furnished,—they will never be accessible ; and such kindly sympathy as is awakened for the aboriginal inhabitants of Mexico, their princes, nobles, and the common people, who by this conquest were either exterminated or miserably degraded, can only be secured by the admissions of their oppressors. This fact should be borne in mind by the student of these chronicles ; much more did it deserve consideration by the historian himself. Nor does Mr. Prescott seem altogether unmindful of the obligations resting on him in this respect. He evinces a degree of kindness and candor in rehearsing the wrongs of the red man ; he even pities his hard fate ; but still Cortes and his followers are the real heroes of his story, and with them, by an insensible but natural process, he too much identifies himself. Their wrongs he palliates ; their most indefensible acts have ever some excuse with him in the desperate necessity by which, as a handful of invaders of a mighty nation, they are *forced* to cruelties, duplicities, and cunning falsehoods, for which nothing but their

peculiarly hard lot, would furnish any apology ! Again and again, while perusing these fascinating pages, have we paused to inquire,—What would be the convictions and feelings of those who suffered these injuries at the hands of those whom they have never wronged or provoked, were they rehearsing the transactions ? Yea more, what would be, what must be the award of ETERNAL JUSTICE, in reference to such deeds as are here recorded !

We do not, indeed, object that these conquerors should be put upon their trial with all the possible advantages growing out of the contemporaneous principles and practices of that age. It were surely unjust to demand of this handful of Spaniards, more than three centuries since, the full humanity, civilization and enlightenment of this middle of the nineteenth century. But even these men professed to be guided by the gospel of Christ, and its light must have made palpable to their dim discernment, the more flagrant wrongs which they committed. If not, then must the Catholic Church, by her monstrous dogmas of "the end's justifying the means," however nefarious, and that "no faith should be kept with heretics," have earned the unenviable reputation of having indurated to perfect insensibility the natural conscience. In either view the results are awful.

Far be it from us to charge on the historian an entire disregard of the claims of justice against these conquerors ; but we would have more willingly tolerated the generous outburst of holy indignation, than so much of blinding apology, and softening qualification. But with this exception, these admirable volumes seem to us fully entitled to the warm and general commendation, and the very wide circulation which they have received.* Diligence and success in examining original authorities, and lucid order, as well as tasteful elegance in the composition of the work, have made it in these respects a very faultless model. Robertson's America, almost the only history which was before accessible to American readers generally, on this subject, cannot be compared favorably with Mr. Prescott's in any respect, and will, of course, be for the most part superseded by it. This work contains

* Prescott's Conquest of Mexico, 3 vols. 8 vo. was first published by the Harpers, in 1843. Within the next five years, the work had reached to eight or ten editions, and is, no doubt, destined to a still larger issue, both in this country and in Europe, in future years.

copious dissertations on the Aztec or Mexican civilization, so greatly in advance of that found in the other aborigines of North America. Then the discovery of Mexico is fully treated of—its invasion by Cortes, with his various alternations of success and repulse, until the final complete triumph of the invaders; and then in the closing portion, he gives their subsequent career. The whole is closed, (as might have been mentioned of the previous work of Irving) with a valuable appendix of interesting and rare documents, and a copious index,—both of them features of great excellence which are too rarely found in American books.

As our object here is to sharpen the appetite for the perusal of the history itself, rather than the presentation of an epitome of it, which might be relied on as a substitute, we will confine our notice to a few sketches, incidentally gleaned from these interesting pages.

Some of the proximate incitements, on the part of the Spanish adventurers, to their setting forth in the career of conquest, are thus depicted:—

“The long peace, enjoyed with slight interruption by Spain in the early part of the sixteenth century, was most auspicious for this; and the restless cavalier, who could no longer win laurels on the fields of Africa or Europe, turned with eagerness to the brilliant career opened to him beyond the ocean. It is difficult for those of our time, as familiar from childhood with the most remote places on the globe as with those in their own neighborhood, to picture to themselves the feelings of the men who lived in the sixteenth century. The dread mystery which had so long hung over the great deep had just been removed. It was no longer beset with the same undefined horrors as when Columbus launched his bold bark on its dark and unknown waters. A new and glorious world had been thrown open. The enterprise thus thrown open had all the fascination of a desperate hazard on which the adventurer staked all his hopes of fortune, fame and life itself.”

The intense desire of the Spaniards for gold, appeared to the Indians unnatural and amazing. Cortes thus attempted to explain it to one of their governors, or chiefs: “The Spaniards were troubled with a disease of the heart, for which gold was a specific remedy!” It is to be feared that this same epidemic is still fearfully raging in all the Caucasian race. Unfortunately for their own peace, the poor Mexicans possessed gold in great abundance, and this lured their spoilers onward, as vultures are gathered to their disgusting feast, scenting it afar. But a still more potent impulse was fur-

nished by the real or professed desire of proselytism to the dogmas of the Catholic Church. If Cortes and his followers truly believed, as he declared to Montezuma on his first visit to that great monarch, "that their worship would sink them in perdition, and it was to snatch his soul and the souls of his people from the flames of eternal fire, that the Christians had come to his land :" then verily their exertions were so far praiseworthy. It is not, indeed, our prerogative to judge the heart, but since among the different motives which are asserted, some are quite in accordance with the avarice and lust, the ambition and self-indulgence displayed by their votaries, and others are practically belied, it is not uncharitable to infer from the character and conduct of the actors which of the two had the greater influence.

The different principles assumed by the Catholic and the Protestant, as their justification in taking possession of portions of the New World, are thus clearly set forth by Mr. Prescott. With the Romish Church lack of the true faith—

" No matter whether founded on ignorance or education, whether hereditary or acquired, heretical or Pagan, is a sin to be punished with fire and faggot in this world, and eternal suffering in the next. This doctrine, monstrous as it is, was the creed of the Romish Church,—the basis of the Inquisition and of those other species of religious persecutions, which have stained the annals at some time or other of nearly every nation in Christendom. Under this code, the territory of the heathen [and of heretics as well] wherever found, was regarded as a sort of religious waif, which, in default of a legal proprietor, was claimed and taken possession of by the Holy See, and as such was freely given away by the head of the church, to any temporal potentate whom he pleased, that would undertake the conquest. Thus Pope Alexander the Sixth generously granted a large portion of the Western hemisphere to the Spaniards, and of the Eastern to the Portuguese. These lofty pretensions of the successors of the humble fisherman of Galilee, far from being nominal, were acknowledged and appealed to as conclusive in controversies between nations."

" The ground on which Protestant nations assert a natural right to the fruits of their discoveries in the New World is very different. They consider that the earth was intended for cultivation, and that Providence never designed that hordes of wandering savages should hold a territory far more than necessary for their own maintenance, to the exclusion of civilized man. Yet it may be thought, as far as improvement of the soil is concerned, that this argument would afford us but an indifferent tenure for much of our own unoccupied and uncultivated territory, far exceeding what is demanded for our present or prospective support. As to a right founded on difference of civilization, this is obviously a still more uncertain criterion. It is to the credit of our

Puritan ancestors, that they did not avail themselves of any such interpretation of the laws of nature, and still less did they rely on the powers conceded by King James' patent, asserting rights as absolute, nearly, as those claimed by the Roman See. On the contrary, they established their title to the soil by fair purchase of the aborigines; thus forming an honorable contrast to the policy pursued by too many of the settlers on the American continents."

The difference is quite as great between the Romish and Protestant method of making disciples among the heathen. This also is adverted to by the historian now under consideration. He thus sets forth what he regards the superior facilities of the former for nominal success.

"The Roman Catholic communion has, it must be admitted, some decided advantages over the Protestant, for the purposes of proselytism. The dazzling pomp of its service and its touching appeal to the sensibilities, affect the imagination of the rude child of nature much more powerfully than the cold abstractions of Protestantism, which, addressed to the reason, demand a degree of refinement and mental culture in the audience to comprehend them. The respect, moreover, shown by the Catholic for the material representations of divinity, greatly facilitates the same object. It is true, such representations are used by him only as incentives [so he pretends], not as the objects of worship. But this distinction is lost on the savage, who finds such forms of adoration too analogous to his own to impose any great violence on his feelings. It is only required of him to transfer his homage from the image of his god Quetzalcoatl, the benevolent deity who walked among men, to that of the Virgin or the Redeemer; from the cross, which he has worshipped as the emblem of the god of rain, to the same cross, the symbol of salvation."

This is the philosophy of the matter, and the practical experiment was certainly not better. The brave Tlascalan chiefs, after they had been conquered in battle by Cortes, proposed to strengthen the alliance into which they had entered with the Spaniards, by the intermarriage of their daughters with Cortes and his officers. The only objection offered to this by the latter was that the fair damsels had not been baptized. To remove this impediment the Spaniards were encouraged to erect a large cross in one of the courts or squares, where the Romish mass was celebrated every day, till the simple-minded natives learned to reverence and partially imitate these religious forms of their conquerors. The way was then opened for consummating the proposed union. "Five or six of the most beautiful of the Indian maidens were assigned to as many of the principal officers, after they

had been cleansed from the stains of infidelity by the waters of baptism." Such were these apostles and propagandists, sent forth to enlighten and convert the heathen. They only pretended to care for the souls of the men whose property they plundered, whose daughters they debauched, living with them as adulterers in mortal sin, and whose persons they stole or slew. A religion of mere rites and forms—like Romanism—always thus perverts the principles of natural justice, straining at a gnat and swallowing a camel.

The rapidity of the conquest of Mexico by the handful of adventurers who followed the bold and perfidious Spaniard in this wanton irruption, seems almost incredible. When Cortes left Cuba, in Feb., 1519, he had one hundred and ten mariners, five hundred and fifty-three soldiers, with only sixteen horses, and even less than this number of large and small pieces of artillery. He did not even hear of Montezuma, the Mexican monarch, till late in the following spring,—and yet within sixteen months of that time the Spaniards had carried the capital by assault, and the whole empire of Mexico lay at their feet, its monarch their captive, his subjects their vassals. That this was not a triumph over a mere horde of ignorant barbarians, is sufficiently manifest. The people here were far advanced in arts, in arms, in refinement and intelligence. They were, too, very probably, more numerous than the Mexicans of the present period. The impression produced on the mind of Cortes by his first visit to the capital, where he was most hospitably welcomed as a guest, by the intelligence, numbers, and power which he witnessed, is thus described by the historian :

"He saw around him the evidences of a civilization, and consequently power, for which the reports of the natives,—discredited by him from their apparent exaggeration,—had not prepared him. In the pomp and burdensome ceremonial of the court, he saw that nice system of subordination, and profound reverence for the monarch, which characterize the semi-civilized empires of Asia. In the appearance of the capital, its massy, yet elegant architecture, its luxurious social accommodations, its activity in trade, he recognized the proof of the intellectual progress, mechanical skill and enlarged resources of an old and opulent community; while the swarms in the streets of the city [nine miles in circumference], attested the existence of a population capable of turning these resources to the best account."

The mighty struggle in the mind of the conqueror, whether he should turn this garden into a desert,—whether for the purposes of his ambition, in the name and pretence of intro-

ducing civilization and Christianity, he should deceive, betray and ruin the monarch whose guest he now was, and subjugate his people, must have been somewhat like the struggle—if there was a struggle—in the bosom of Satan, when he was meditating his irruption into Paradise and the ills he should inflict on its unsuspecting occupants. The resolve in both cases was similar; and the bad success of each has left its dark train behind, but too easily traceable in all its features of wretchedness. Nor did the instrument of this mischief entirely escape suffering, even in this life, some prelibation of what Eternal Justice meets out to the wrong-doer. But we will not prolong these sketches by any recapitulation of the subsequent steps of his career. Mr. Prescott thus sums up some of the traits of the character of Cortes, his principal hero, and moralizes on his melancholy end :

“ His character is marked with the most opposite traits, embracing qualities apparently the most incompatible. He was avaricious, yet liberal; bold to desperation, yet cautious and calculating in his plans; magnanimous, yet very cunning; courteous and affable in his deportment, yet inexorably stern; lax in his notions of morality, yet (what is not uncommon) a sad bigot. The great feature in his character was constancy of purpose; a constancy not to be daunted by danger, nor baffled by disappointment, nor wearied out by impediments and delays.” * * * * “ The last days of Cortes, wasted in ineffectual attempts to obtain redress from the court whom he had so signally served, remind us of the similar fate of Columbus. The history of both may teach us, that the most brilliant career too often leads only to sorrow and disappointment, as the clouds gather round the sun at his setting.”

Contrary to our original purpose, our remarks have been so extended on these two works, that we must defer to our next the Review of the Colonization, the Independence and the Organization of the Government of these United States.

ARTICLE VI.

THE IONIAN ISLANDS.

“ THE United States of the Ionian Islands,” is the official title of that nominally independent state, which comprises the seven following principal islands, viz. : Corfu, Cephalonia, Zante, Santa Maura, Cerigo, Ithaca, and Paxo. There are likewise several smaller islands belonging to the group, of

little political or commercial importance ; though some of them, as the Strophades for example, are not wholly unknown to classic fame. Those above named, with the exception of Cerigo, all lie in the Ionian Sea, between the latitudes of $37^{\circ} 30'$ and 40° N., the more northerly portion being contiguous to the coast of Epirus, and the more southern to that of Greece. Cerigo lies south of the Morea, near Cape Matapan, in lat. about $36^{\circ} 30'$ N., and is thus widely separated from the sister islands. The largest of the cluster is Cephalonia, which has an area of about 340 square miles. Corfu, the northernmost, and the seat of government, is next in size, embracing about 230 square miles. Each of these two larger islands has a population of 60,000 to 70,000. The total area of these islands is a little more than 1,000 square miles, and the entire population about 220,000, of which some 8,000 are Roman Catholics from Italy, Sicily, and Malta, 4,000 or 5,000 are Jews, and 2,500 or 3,000, including the garrisons, are English.

We must content ourselves with barely alluding to the classic interest of these little islands ;—Corfu, the Drepene of the remotest antiquity, the Scheria of Homer (*Odys.* lvi.), and the Coreyra of later times, the country of the Phaeacians, and their king Alcinous, whose renowned gardens the readers of the *Odyssey* cannot have forgotten ;—Santa Maura, the Leucadia of the ancients, in Homer's time a part of the continent, from which it is still barely separated by a narrow and almost fordable strait, with its promontory of Leucate, from which Sappho is said to have leaped, in hope of finding a cure for unrequited love ;—and Ithaca, the home of the far-wandering and much-enduring Ulysses, and his worried but true-hearted Penelope.

We must also confine ourselves to a very hasty glance at the more recent and less doubtful history of these “isles of Greece.” After having successively formed a part of the Grecian, the Roman, and the Byzantine empires, in the 13th century they came into the possession of the Neapolitan kings, by whom they were held till near the close of the 14th, when Venice, then mistress of the seas, extended her sceptre over them. The Venetian rule continued for more than 400 years, till 1797, in June of which year they fell into the hands of the French, and by the treaty of Campo Formio in the following October were formally united with the French

Republic. But two years after, the French garrison surrendered to the united forces of Russia and Turkey. Under these new masters, the islands acquired a nominal independence, as an aristocratical republic, under the protection of the Sultan, paying an annual tribute to the Porte, but managing their internal affairs for themselves. In 1803 they received a new constitution from the hands of the Russian Autocrat. Four years later, they were again subdued by the arms of France, and incorporated with the then empire. But this second occupation of them by the French was no more lasting than the first; for in 1809 they were expelled from all the islands except Corfu, by the English under Lord Collingwood. Finally, when the peace of Europe was settled in 1815, these islands were constituted an independent state, under the title of "the United States of the Ionian Islands," and placed under the permanent protection of the British crown. The islands are all garrisoned by English troops. The protecting power is represented by a Lord High Commissioner, appointed by the crown, who manages the government of the islands in conjunction with a quinquennial Parliament, composed of a Senate of six members, and a Legislative Assembly of forty. The President of the Senate is appointed by the Lord High Commissioner, and the other five members are elected by the Legislative Assembly, out of their own body, this election being subject to the veto of the Executive. The members of the Legislative Assembly are chosen by electors from among the people, but the right of suffrage is limited to about 3,000 voters, or 1 to 73 of the entire population. The government of each island is shared between an English and Ionian magistrate, the former appointed by the Lord High Commissioner, and the latter elected by the Senate. Such are in brief the outlines of the system of government settled by the constitutional charter of 1817. Whether it be due to the fault of the charter itself, or to abuses in the administration of the government, or more probably to both combined, the result has been, that under this constitution the Ionians have enjoyed the name and the shadow of independence, and their foreign protectors the substance of absolute power. It is only a little more than a year, since the liberty of the press was granted to the Ionians; and they have not neglected to make constant use of this organ, in loudly urging their claims and complaints. Reforms have been

promised, and in some particulars already effected or commenced ; but still the wishes and demands of the people are far from being satisfied, and the public mind is by no means tranquil. While we write, a large part of the island of Cephalonia is in a state of insurrection, or perhaps it should rather be said of civil war : for local feuds, of long standing, have combined with disaffection against the general government in producing the outbreak. These insurrectionary movements (for the present, though one of the most formidable, is by no means the first,) are either originally excited, or at least forwarded and strengthened, by adventurers from Greece, who make the most of the desire which prevails almost universally among the disaffected Ionians to have these islands incorporated into the Greek kingdom. Indeed the most moderate of the opponents of the present system of government openly declare that they look forward to such a union, as a final consummation desired by the people, demanded by justice, and decreed by fate.

The provisions of the Ionian constitution relating to religion, ought perhaps to be regarded as liberal, in view of the latitude for which they were designed, and the ideas then prevalent in Europe, in regard to ecclesiastical establishments and the rights of conscience. They are contained in the following articles :

“ The established religion of these states is the Orthodox Greek religion ; but all other forms of the Christian religion shall be protected, as hereinafter stated.”

“ The dominant orthodox religion of the high protecting power, under which the United States of the Ionian Islands are exclusively placed, shall be exercised within the same, by its professors, in the fullest manner and with the fullest liberty.

“ The Roman Catholic religion shall be specially protected, and all other forms of religion shall be tolerated.

“ There shall be no public form of religious worship permitted in these states, except such as relates to the Christian orthodox churches before mentioned.”

How this last prohibition is to be reconciled with the universal toleration and protection proclaimed in the preceding articles, it is not the writer’s province to explain, nor has he thought it politic to inquire. It is enough to state, that no opposition or molestation has hitherto been offered to the public worship of Independents, Baptists and Presbyterians, any more than to that of the Jewish Synagogue. Indeed, the

public worship of the two last-named Protestant sects, is celebrated in a building gratuitously granted for this purpose by the Commission of Public Instruction, composed entirely of Ionians.

The Greek church of the Ionian Islands is ecclesiastically subject to the Patriarch of Constantinople. Each of the seven islands forms a separate Episcopal diocese, and the bishops of each of the four larger enjoy in rotation for five years a sort of metropolitan dignity and authority, with the title of Exarch.

The religion of the Ionian Islands does not differ in point of doctrine from that of the Greek Church in other parts of the East, except perhaps that during the long rule of the Venetians some additional errors and abuses were introduced, belonging to that fallen church, which, as having reached a greater maturity of corruption, both in doctrine and practice, than any other, and having wedded itself to its corruptions more indissolubly than any other, by its various decrees and decisions, and pronounced itself incurable by its arrogant dogma of infallibility, is entitled, if not exclusively, at least by way of eminence, to be regarded as the embodiment of the predicted anti-christian apostacy. Most of the ecclesiastical books now in use were printed at Venice ; and this is true even of the latest revised editions. If the number of churches were any index of the moral and religious condition of the people, we should be led to form the most favorable opinion of the character of the Ionians. In our own happy land, where the sight of a house dedicated to the worship of God assures the beholder that there the moral precepts, at least, of the Christian religion, are explained and enforced every Lord's-day, a relation between the number of such places of religious instruction and worship and the degree of intelligence, virtue, and piety in the community, may in general be reasonably assumed : but in these eastern parts, alas ! it is far otherwise ; and the superfluous multitude of churches can hardly seem, to the intelligent and reflecting observer, anything else than so many monuments of ignorance and superstition,—so many chambers of imagery, where all the idols are portrayed upon the wall round about, and worshipped, not in darkness and secrecy, but in broad day and with boasting,—so many signs that Christianity has been deposed from its legitimate office of governing the hearts and lives of men,

and transformed into a magic art, of which the priests alone know the secret, an article of merchandise, in which the priests alone are licensed to deal ;—a class of men whose interest requires the people to be ignorant, that their impostures may be more secure from detection, and vicious, that the ritual sanctification in which they traffic may be in greater demand. But we must not bear false witness against the clergy of the Ionian Islands. When the character of the system of religion of which they are the appointed ministers is duly considered, the wonder is rather that they themselves are no worse. While there is too much ground to believe that many among them neither fear God nor regard men, and while it cannot be denied that not a few of them are hypocritical, avaricious, and unmerciful, yet their character as a whole is much superior to that of the Romish clergy.

There are several of the priests in Corfu, who are preachers of no inconsiderable talent ; and the Greek Church is not, like the Romish, reduced to the necessity of sending abroad for foreign priests to preach the annual Lent sermons. There is a manifest disposition of late (due no doubt in part to the influence of government,) to increase the amount of pulpit instruction, especially in Corfu. Until two or three years ago, it was limited to one sermon on the morning of each Sunday in Lent, delivered in the Cathedral. For the last two years, there have been two sermons instead of one, in different churches in rotation, and at different hours. Nor is this all. Among the public schools in the island, there are five of a higher order than the rest, called Central Schools, each of which is under the direction of a priest, whose duty it is to preach every Lord's day, visiting in rotation all the principal villages in the district of which his school is the centre. This arrangement is very recent, and has not yet gone into complete operation in all the districts. Weekly preaching is by statute made a part of the duty of the chaplain of the new penitentiary. That the doctrine thus preached with increasing frequency is “another gospel” than that of Paul, must be sorrowfully admitted. Yet that the preaching of it, such as it is, is better than *no* preaching,—that it tends in some degree to restrain men from vice, to increase religious knowledge, to awaken the mind to inquiry, and to prepare the way for a future reformation of abuses, cannot reasonably be denied. So pure is the word of the Lord, that

notwithstanding all the corrupt mixtures by which it is debased, it still retains something of its native virtue, and exerts something of its salutary influence. The preachers belong, for the most part, to the more enlightened portion of the clergy, and consequently the grosser corruptions and superstitions of the common people do not ordinarily find place in their discourses. But this is the brighter side of the picture. It is only to Corfu that the above statements apply. In the other islands, even the Lent sermons are not regularly preached. Yet, if one may judge from the multitudes that always throng the church to hear a sermon, the common people would gladly have more frequent religious instruction from those in whom they confide. And the great concourse on such occasions is the more remarkable, as the congregation, instead of sitting at their ease on cushioned seats, are almost all obliged to stand,* and as the sermon is always preceded by a tedious liturgy. But on the most favorable view of the character of this religious instruction, when it is considered how rarely it is given, and to how small a fraction of the people it is confined, it cannot be thought strange that profound ignorance of spiritual religion and gross superstition, are the common characteristics of the mass of people. Yet like those ancient heathen, whom the apostle Paul describes, though their foolish heart is darkened, they are vain in their imaginations, professing themselves to be wise, and glorying in their fancied superiority to all others that bear the Christian name. It is eminently true of them, that they trust in themselves that they are righteous before God, and despise others. Theirs is *the* church, the most ancient of all churches, which received the doctrine of Christ from the lips of his very apostles, and has alone retained, not only its substance uncorrupted, but even its very language unchanged. *Ἡμεῖς οἱ ὁρθόδοξοι*,—we the orthodox, is their common and self-complacent way of distinguishing themselves from all other Christians. Yet truth compels us to say of them, that they worship and serve the creature more than the Creator. The proofs of this grave charge are but too readily found. Even now while we write, they are celebrating two of their principal feasts in honor of two of those creatures whom they most

* In the Greek churches there is only a single row of seats around the walls, and often much less; while the whole floor forms an open and undivided area.

venerate, Mary, the mother of our blessed Lord, and St. Spiridon, the Patron Saint of Corfu. Saint Spiridon was a bishop in the island of Cyprus, in the earlier part of the fourth century, and a distinguished member of the Council of Nice. According to tradition he was eminent alike for his venerable sanctity and his miraculous gifts. Of these latter it will suffice to mention two instances, in both which they were exercised in opposition to the heretical followers of Arius. While on his way to the council, he chanced to lodge at the same inn with some delegates of the opposite party. These graceless heretics, dreading the influence which his reputation for sanctity might give him in the council, and determined to forestall it if possible, thought to gain their end by stealthily cutting off in the night the heads of the horses on which he and his attendant rode. But when the good bishop was informed in the morning what had taken place, he at once relieved the distress of his servant, and disappointed the malice of his adversaries, by replacing the heads; or rather, according to one tradition, by *misplacing* them; for when the day rose, the black horse was found to have a white head, and the white horse a black one. No matter; the mistake was not a bad one: it was good in its cause, for it was occasioned by his zeal for orthodoxy, which impelled him to begin his day's journey while it was yet dark, that he might not be late at the council; and it was good in its effect, for it served for the still more manifest confirmation of the miracle.

Answerable to this omen, was his miraculous success, when arrived at the council, in discomfiting the perverse and profane cavils of the heretical disputants; for when they objected to the Catholic doctrine of the Trinity, as self-contradictory and absurd, he put them to shame by an unanswerable analogical argument. Taking a piece of old pottery in his hand, he held it up to view, then pressed it with his closed fingers, when lo! a flame arose from his hand, drops of water trickled from beneath, and fell on the ground, and in his open palm there remained but dry and crumbled clay: the unity of the potsherd had resolved itself into its triple elements of clay, water, and fire. After his death, miracles without number were wrought at his tomb, from which an agreeable odor was observed to proceed. About the middle of the seventh century, when the Saracens were masters of Cyprus, his remains were removed for greater security to

Constantinople, where they were held in the highest veneration till the conquest of that city by the Turks in 1453, at which time they were transferred to Corfu. For nearly four centuries, they have been the possession of a wealthy family of the name of Bulgari, some member of which must always be the officiating priest in the large and richly endowed church dedicated to the saint. Many miracles are said to have been performed by him, in favor of those who delight to do him honor. At one time, when a grievous famine was wasting the island, he suddenly relieved it, by appearing simultaneously in different parts of the Mediterranean to the masters of ships laden with wheat, and making known to them the necessity of his distressed devotees. At another time, when his relics were borne in procession through the streets of Corfu, a skeptical nobleman dared to deride a poor boy, who had piously thrown himself on the ground before the sacred coffin, to seek, through the saint's intercession, the cure of a troublesome disease. Tradition has omitted to inform us of the issue of the child's faith, but it has not forgotten to assure us that the divine vengeance speedily overtook the profane scoffer, who that very day lost his right eye by the bursting of a gun. In the year 1716, when Corfu was besieged both by land and sea by the Turks, the inhabitants had recourse in their distress to their saintly protector, and ceased not day and night to implore his interposition. At last, after they had been reduced to the greatest straits by the enemy, their deliverer suddenly appeared, early one morning, to the astonished eyes of the affrighted besiegers, brandishing a glittering sword, and surrounded by a multitude of the heavenly host. Adapting himself to their double mode of attack, he showed himself at the same time to the blockading fleet, accompanied by a numerous aerial squadron. The infidels, both fleet and army, fled in confusion and dismay, and made great havoc of each other. This exploit is annually celebrated with great display on the 11-23 of August. At the moment of writing these lines the streets of Corfu are bustling with the pomp and circumstance of this solemn festival. The relics of the saint are carried through the streets in an upright coffin, with a glass window through which his withered and tawny head is seen reclining on his shoulder, and accompanied by scores of priests in their embroidered robes of every hue, with lighted candles in their

hands ; a multitude of large pictures of the Virgin and of various saints, borne aloft on poles, supply the place of the banners in our political or patriotic processions. A band of music enlivens the scene, multitudes of citizens and peasants of both sexes, in their gala dresses follow the procession, or throng the streets to gaze on it and cross themselves as it passes ; now it pauses before the palace of the Lord High Commissioner, while a special prayer is said to invoke the intercession of the protecting saint, in behalf of the protecting sovereign ; and hark ! the cannon of England—of proud and Protestant England—is thundering its homage to a withered carcass, of which the grave has been too long wrongfully despoiled. To reprobate in the strongest terms such a participation in idolatry, is a Christian duty ; but to proclaim it with the malicious joy of national antipathy, were alike forbidden by the spirit of Christianity and by a sense of consistency ; for what American, wherever he may dwell, does not blush to remember the too similar scene that occurred not long ago in the streets of a Mexican city !

It is not necessary to dwell largely on the moral state of a community, where such gross creature-worship is practised ; for the moral fruits of such a religious system must be everywhere and always substantially the same. Covetousness, licentiousness, duplicity, and falsehood are prominent and prevalent vices. Perjury is so common that the administration of justice is rendered almost an impossibility. “ *Truth is fallen in the street, and equity cannot enter.*” A partial antidote was formerly found, in bringing suspected witnesses to the church of St. Spiridon, and making them swear upon his relics. Many who had perjured themselves without compunction, where the oath was taken upon the Holy Scriptures, moved with greater fear in the presence of their idol, used to recant their false testimony, and reveal the truth. But of late this remedy is said to be less efficacious, and is, therefore, less frequently resorted to.

It is but a natural and a reasonable consequence, that among the more educated class there should be many who have lost all respect for the prevailing system of religion ; and it is almost equally natural, though certainly not equally reasonable, that the contempt which they feel for their traditional superstitions should extend itself to all revealed religion. There are too many indications that this last unhappy

result has taken place very extensively, especially among the present generation of young men ; and that even priestly robes do not always shield the heart from infidelity, however effectually they may restrain the lips from the unguarded profession of it.

The chief design of the foregoing statements has been, to furnish the reader with the materials for forming a sound judgment of the claims of the Ionian Islands as a field of missionary labor. A few additional considerations, having a more direct reference to that subject, will close this already too much extended article.

In determining the comparative claims of any particular part of the world, as a field of missionary operations, it will be granted, we presume, that among the things most worthy to be considered are, its religious condition, its extent, the character and relations of its population, its accessibility, its climate and adaptation in other respects to the health and comfort of the laborers, and lastly its promise. Let us be indulged with a few words upon each of these.

As to the religious condition of the population of the Ionian Islands, we may presume that what has already been said will amply suffice to prove the *need* of evangelical labor among them. If they worship God in vain who teach for doctrines the commandments of men, and by their traditions make void the commandments of God ; if they cannot offer any acceptable worship and service to the Creator, who worship and serve the creature more than Him — then there can be no dispute that the population of these islands need evangelical instruction as truly as those of any part of the Pagan world. We have only to add, therefore, under this head, that there is no other supply for this need, but that which is provided by the mission of our own Union. The English government provides military chaplains for each of the three larger islands, Cephalonia, Corfu, and Zante ; and for the seat of government, there is likewise a civil chaplain. But these confine their labors to their own countrymen, between whom and the Ionian people, there is, in addition to all other separating causes, the barrier of a language reputed difficult, and differing widely from all the other languages of Europe ; and which, therefore, very few Englishmen think it worth their pains to acquire. There is, moreover, a missionary of the Presbyterian church, whose labors have a primary reference

to the conversion of the Jews, and a secondary to the supply of the spiritual wants of his own countrymen and co-religionists, of whom there is always a considerable number among the military ; and who, therefore, whatever readiness of mind he may have to do good unto *all* men, can of course find little leisure to devote to the benefit of the Greeks. The British and Foreign Bible Society, and the London Missionary Society have had their missionaries in the islands, but the last of these was transferred to another station more than three years ago.

In point of extent, the Ionian Islands present an insignificant field when compared with China or India, among heathen nations, or with Germany or France among nominally Christian countries. But there are none, we would hope, among the sincere friends of missions, who will uphold so extreme a principle as that *all* our evangelical efforts should be confined to these more extensive fields. We rejoice that there are parts where missionary labor is invited by a broader sphere, and where missionary enthusiasm is excited and sustained by the prospect of more magnificent results ; but we remember at the same time that God has not despised, and so has forbidden his people to despise, the lesser isles of the ocean, and the decaying aboriginal tribes of our own continent. The Ionian group contains about twice the population of the Sandwich Islands.

But the character of a particular people, and their relations to neighboring nations, may sometimes far outweigh in importance the consideration of extent of territory, or number of inhabitants. The Ionians are an enterprising race. This their common characteristic exhibits itself under different forms in the natives of the different islands. The Zantiotes are proverbially industrious and thrifty. They have made their own island a garden indeed, and settlers from it are every year more and more enriching with productiveness, and adorning with beauty the adjacent shores of Greece. The Cephalonians are famed for their expert seamanship ; and notwithstanding the intestine quarrels and seditious movements which have given them so unenviable a notoriety, they have contrived to *double* the products of their island within the last twenty years. The conversion of a maritime race of people to a pure Christianity is a peculiarly important step in the progress of the world's evangelization. It is

the conversion, in so far, of one of the most formidable hindrances into one of the most efficient helps—the transformation of a bitter foe into a beneficent friend. And a commercial people, though their country be an island, cease in a manner to be insular. They make for themselves highways, which neither rains nor snows ever obstruct, to all the marts of the world. Is not England an island? Yet what continent or shore is there, near or distant, with which her floating bridges have not joined her?

That this part of the world is accessible to missionary effort, we have the most conclusive of all possible demonstrations, the actual and unmolested occupancy of it for ten years past. How the apparently contradictory principles of the constitution will be harmonized, when the battle of soul-liberty comes to be fought, it is not for us to foretell. If victory should crown the *first* struggle, the result would be contrary to what history has taught us to expect. If it seem good to Him who hath put the times and the seasons in his own power, to postpone that contest a few years longer, there will not be wanting, we confidently believe, a little band who will count freedom to worship God a blessing worthy to be valiantly contended for with words of truth and soberness, and cheerfully suffered for, with the faith and the patience of the saints. And while in this contest we must not lean upon an arm of flesh, though it should be the mightiest of all fleshly arms, yet we may thankfully remember, that the dominant power in these islands is that of the nation, in which religious freedom has ever found its stoutest champions and its most willing martyrs, in which it has already achieved its greatest victories, and is steadily advancing to still more glorious triumphs.

The matter of climate, &c. may be dismissed with a word. There are no peculiar dangers, discomforts or privations attendant upon a residence in this field. The climate of the Ionian Islands has nothing of malignity, and is, on the whole, salubrious and delightful. Those who come from more northern regions doubtless enjoy commonly less vigor than in colder latitudes, and require to be recruited, after the lapse of years, by breathing for a season a more bracing air; but this is common to all warmer climates, and applies with much less force to the Mediterranean than to any of our Asiatic stations.

More important is the consideration of the comparative promise of different fields ; and it is on this ground, probably, that we shall chiefly meet with adversaries, in pleading for the continuance of this part of the work in which the A. B. M. Union is engaged. We must sorrowfully confess that missionary labor in this field has not heretofore brought forth fruit answerable to the expectations, much less to the desires, of those who have cōperated in the work. This is a lamentation, and shall be for a lamentation. It is a trial of our faith ; but we protest against its being regarded as a command to withdraw, or a permission to despair. Were we to grant that the apparent want of promise of this field, viewed in connection with the brighter prospects that elsewhere open before us, and the limited means which it has pleased God to put into the hands of the Union, might be a sufficient reason for not undertaking, at this moment, a new mission to the Ionian Islands, there would yet remain ample ground on which we might earnestly contend for the *continuance* of the mission already established. The question of *beginning* has been decided. Providential circumstances led to the occupation of this field. Is there a clear voice of Divine Providence bidding us abandon the work we have begun ? Our missionaries there do not hear it. Has God withdrawn the hopes and the hearts of his people from this part of the great field ? Such a withdrawal may have taken place in many minds, and yet not be of God. But it has not taken place in *all*. And we will persist in believing that it has not taken place in most, that it has not taken place so extensively, as to make the recall of our missionaries an inevitable measure, till the unanswerable evidence of facts compels us to the opposite conclusion. We will not believe that the resolution to withdraw from *any* field of begun missionary labor, on account of confessed want of success, will be irrevocably adopted, until such thoughts as these have been solemnly pondered : whether such withdrawal can be made without danger of reflecting dishonor on Christ and his truth ; whether the principles on which it is made, if applied from the beginning, would not have led to the successive abandonment of many fields which God has afterwards signally fertilized with the copious dew of his blessing ; whether the *precedent* of such an abandonment would not tend to produce such disastrous results as these ; on the part of missionary laborers abroad, either, on the one hand, a feeling of *uncertainty*, unfavorable to extensive plans

of usefulness, untiring perseverance in prosecuting them, and unreserved devotion to their work ; or, on the other, a feverish anxiety for speedy results, unfavorable not only to their own comfort and health, but much more to deliberateness of judgment, discretion of procedure, and the purity and permanency of those results ; and, on the part of missionary contributors at home, either, on the one hand, the disaffection of a few and the discouragement of many : or, on the other, fickleness and impatience ; the fruit of that sin of unbelief which so easily besets us all ; whether, in fine, such a precedent would not be too likely to end in the diminution of funds at home and of fruits abroad, of faith in God on our part and favor towards us on his ; — till these things, we say, have been duly considered, we trust such a measure will not be taken ; and *when* these things have been duly considered, we are persuaded that neither the Greek Mission, nor any other, will be disbanded without some sounder and safer reason than the want of success. Before the last anniversary of the Union, at which the existence of this mission trembled for a while in so doubtful a scale, our missionaries were rejoicing in the baptism of one interesting convert. Before the report of that meeting reached them two more had been baptized. All the three are young men. One is an experienced and devoted teacher. Another has likewise had experience as a teacher, but his desire now is to teach and to preach Jesus Christ to his countrymen,—a work for which the providence and grace of God seem to have prepared him. Had the decision to recall our missionaries from this field passed at the Philadelphia meetings, it would have been to them a message to leave these beloved brethren, as sheep having no shepherd ; and could they have been *sure* that it was a message from God ? It may be that they would have ventured to doubt, and to inquire whether deliverance might not possibly arise from some other quarter. But thanks be to God, they were not called to that trial. And this renewed deliverance cannot but strengthen their hope of the permanence of the mission. For if, when it seemed to be altogether unfruitful, the counsel to cut it down was rejected, and the resolution was adopted to “let it alone this year also,” much more may it be hoped, that when it has borne a *little* fruit it may be spared, and purged that it may bear more and more, until at last it shall be confessed, to the glory of God, that it has borne *much* fruit.

ARTICLE VII.

LITERARY NOTICES.

1. *History of the French Revolution of 1848.* By A. De LAMARTINE. Translated by Francis A. Durivage and William S. Chase. First American Edition. In two volumes. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co., 110 Washington Street. 1849.

This is another in the series of valuable historical works, just issued by these enterprising publishers, and none will probably be read with more eager interest. The magnitude and importance of the event itself, the recent date of its occurrence, the sudden and startling manner in which it seemed to burst upon the world, and the uncertainty that seems still to hang over its final issue, all seem to invest such a work as this with peculiar attraction. And then the peculiar interest that gathers around the character of the author, who, for a time, seemed to be the very soul and embodiment of the Revolution itself, together with his distinguished talents as a writer, singles him out as the man above all others to be the historian of this period. We have felt no little curiosity to read this work, to hear Lamartine speak for himself, to know the stand-point from which he viewed those transactions, and the principles that guided him while he administered the government of the new-born Republic. We have no doubt the work will have an extensive sale.

2. *The History of England, from the Invasion of Julius Cæsar to the Abdication of James the Second, 1688.* By DAVID HUME, Esq. A New Edition, with the Author's last Corrections and Improvements. To which is prefixed a Short Account of his Life, written by himself. Boston: Phillips, Sampson & Co. 1849.

The vast and ever increasing influence of the Anglo-Saxon race, and the part it seems destined to bear in the civilization of the world, naturally awaken an interest in its early history. Originally composed of a number of savage tribes, inhabiting a country less in extent than some of the smaller States of our Union, and scarcely bound together by any national ties, and often the prey of invaders from the neighboring countries, England has risen in the scale of intellectual and moral elevation, increasing in power and extending her dominion, by her colonies and by conquest, till the most distant nations of the earth feel her influence. Meanwhile her American daughter, into whom she had infused the elements of her own national character, breaking from her control and establishing a government of her own, based on the principles of perfect civil and religious freedom, is exerting an influence of a different character, but not less effective, before which the thrones of Europe are crumbling, and that is destined to work a complete revolution in the politics of the Old World.

It must, therefore, be both interesting and instructive, to trace back to its source, and seek to ascertain in what elements of national character is to be found the secret of this mighty, long-continued, and ever-growing influence. Nor can it be uninteresting to witness the struggles and conflicts through which the spirit of English liberty has made its way to the attainment of the grand and glorious results that in our own coun-

try are now fully realized. For in the growth and early development of the spirit of liberty, England and America cannot be separated. American liberty was not the growth of a day, nor, indeed, of one or two centuries. It was the tree of English liberty, transplanted into another soil, more favorable to its vigorous growth, where it has attained to its maturity and is bringing forth its ripened fruits. Of the character of this work, it is unnecessary to speak. It has long since taken its place among those standard works that are destined to live as long as the language in which it is written is spoken or read. Hume seems to have wanted but one qualification for a historian of the period of which he treats, and that was, a suitable appreciation of the influence of Christianity in moulding the national character. Yet, notwithstanding this deficiency, he has produced a history of this period that will never be superseded by any other. Phillips, Sampson & Co. have already issued three volumes of this work, put up in a neat and handsome style, which, when completed, with the late History of England, by Macaulay, of which it forms the complement, will cover the whole period, from the invasion of Julius Cæsar, down to the accession of William and Mary. Few works can be read with more profit.

3. *Pastoral Reminiscences.* By SHEPARD K. KOLLOCK. With an Introduction, by A. ALEXANDER, Professor in the Theological Seminary at Princeton, New Jersey. New York: Published by M. W. Dodd, corner of City Hall Square and Spruce Street. 1849.

In the introduction to this volume, Professor Alexander has aptly compared the work of a pastor to that of a physician. And as no amount of medical science can make a skilful practitioner, without the knowledge of diseases, and their mode of treatment acquired in the actual practice of medicine, so no amount of mere theological science, can make a skilful pastor, without an intimate knowledge of the human heart in its various spiritual states and exercises. Hence it is, that many men can discuss with ability a theological question, or preach eloquently on any of the great doctrines of the gospel, who still exhibit a strange want of skill in adapting those truths to the spiritual wants of their people. They seem to have a far better knowledge of the gospel, than of man for whom the gospel was provided. The gospel in the abstract they know how to unfold with clearness and precision, but when called to apply its truths to the ever-varying spiritual states in which their hearers are found, they utterly fail. Is not one cause of this failure on the part of so many pastors, owing to the fact that the heart, in its various spiritual states, and the adaption of gospel truth to these states, is not made the subject of careful study, as it should be? The physician who would become skilful in his profession, not only seeks to acquire a thorough knowledge of the nature and effects of medicine, and the anatomy and physiology of man, but also of particular cases of disease and the appropriate remedies to be applied in such cases. And an able work on the pathology of diseases is read by the young physician with eager interest. And we see not why the young and inexperienced pastor may not derive an equal benefit from a book of spiritual pathology such as is furnished in the volume before us. The author seems to have been a skilful and successful pastor, and he has here given us the results of his own experience. "The Devout Widow" and "An Old Disciple," are both beautiful exemplifications of the Christian character, though under far different circumstances. "The Scottish Seaman," is a detailed

account of a peculiarly interesting case of inquiry, conversion, and subsequent life of devoted piety. "The Daughter of Despair Comforted," and the "Injured Man Subdued," show the workings of the human heart, under circumstances of peculiar trial and conflict, and the effect of the skilful adaptation of gospel truths to those peculiar spiritual states. The "Naval Apostate" is a fearful warning against self-deception and departure from God. The whole is written in an easy, flowing style, and will be read with interest. And we have no hesitation in saying, that the Christian cannot read it without spiritual profit, nor the pastor without deriving from it many valuable suggestions.

4. *Exercises in Greek Prose Composition, adapted to the First Book of Xenophon's Anabasis.* By JAMES R. BOISE, Professor of Greek in Brown University. New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1850, pp. 185.

Nothing connected with classical education is more striking than the singular improvement which has been made in the means of acquiring the ancient languages. Their study has been simplified to such an extent that a boy may now become quite a proficient in them at an age earlier than would formerly have been deemed proper for him to begin their most elementary study. If then we have not, as is often alleged, so many good scholars in Greek and Latin as formerly, the reason is to be found elsewhere than in the facilities which are furnished for the acquisition of these languages. If students at school and at college were now kept at these studies one third of the time which used to be devoted to them, and which even now is devoted to them by all who attain to excellence, classical learning would reach a much higher standard than it has hitherto attained among us.

To these facilities this book of exercises from the accurate and experienced Professor of Greek in Brown University is an unpretending, yet highly valuable contribution. It is designed to aid in the work of learning to write the Greek language—a branch of scholarship which, though till lately comparatively neglected in our schools, is evidently a far higher and more important attainment than the mere ability to construe and parse. The exercises consist of words, phrases, and passages taken from the Greek of Xenophon's *Anabasis*, and so arranged as to illustrate the principal idioms of the language, as well as the most important rules of its syntax. The student in turning English into Greek is not left to his own crude taste to guide him to the proper words, but he is required to use the words of Xenophon, and to reconstruct them in sentences of his own as nearly as possible after the original models. In this manner he knows that the Greek he writes is pure and classic, both in its words and its idioms, for it is the very Greek which the historian has employed in narrating the expedition of Cyrus, and in recording the retreat of the ten thousand. The explanations and references to rules are all that a learner will need in mastering the exercises themselves, and the clear and beautiful text of the first book of the *Anabasis*, together with the vocabulary which is appended, renders the work entirely available for the purpose it aims to accomplish, without any extraneous aid whatever.

From the examination we have been able to give to the book, we are very confident that it will be found an exceedingly useful assistant, both in teaching and in learning the Greek language—that language which before all others, save his mother tongue, it becomes the scholar fully to master, and which, before every other, is sure to reward him for its attainment, with the richest treasures of beautiful thought, and the

brightest gems of classic and sacred wisdom. It bears the date of 1850, and is among the first fruits of the literature which the coming year will furnish for aiding in the promotion of classical education. We shall be most happy to find any considerable number of the works which will be published for this purpose, equal to this either in the accuracy and judgment with which it is prepared, or the beauty and finish with which it is executed. In both these respects, it reflects the highest credit upon the experience and care of the editor, and the enterprise and liberality of the publishers.

5. *The Baptist Almanac and Annual Register, for the year of our Lord, 1850.* Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 31 North Sixth Street.

We have examined this unpretending work with unusual satisfaction. We were surprised to find the amount of valuable statistical information that is here compressed into these few pages. And it is just such information as every Baptist ought to be in possession of. Here are full reports of the number of Baptist associations, churches, ministers, licentiates, number baptized during the year, and total membership in the United States and British Provinces, and the grand total of Baptists throughout the world. Here is a general view of all the colleges and theological schools under the control of our denomination; also, of all the benevolent societies under our patronage and direction, and all the periodicals controlled and sustained by the denomination in the United States and British Provinces. This, with much more that is valuable, is brought into the narrow compass of thirty-six pages, and is sold—single copy, six cents; one dozen copies, fifty cents; one hundred copies, three dollars. Every Baptist family ought to possess a copy. The expense is trifling, and if all examine it with the interest and satisfaction we have done, they will feel themselves repaid many times. We could have wished that it had been put up in a more attractive style, corresponding with its intrinsic merits, as we think it would have met with a more extensive sale. There are few men who do not judge something of a work by its outward dress. We all like something to please the eye, as well as to inform the understanding. We will not, however, complain this time, seeing the matter it contains is so valuable, but simply advertise our readers that if the outward appearance of the work is less attractive than some other publications that meet the eye, the deficiency is fully made up by its intrinsic worth. It is for sale at all the depositories of the American Baptist Publication Society throughout the United States.

6. *The Mourner Comforted; or Extracts Consolatory on the Loss of Friends.* By Rev. THOMAS LOPE, M. A. New York: Published by M. W. Dodd, Brick Church Chapel. 1849.

Who is there that is not called to drink of the cup of affliction? And who then does not need the consolations of the gospel? The heart weighed down under the burden of its sorrows, seems almost instinctively to turn to the religion of Christ for comfort and support, and the skilful adaptation of gospel truth to the heart thus stricken and bleeding, may not only bring a balm for its wounds, but may exert on the mind a most healthful and sanctifying influence. How many have thus been led to turn away from the uncertain and fading joys of earth, and fix their affections, and lay up their treasure above. A work like the little volume

before us, drawing consolation and instruction for the mourner from the treasure-house of divine truth, is, therefore, ever to be gladly welcomed. The selections from various writers on this subject seem judiciously made, and we trust many a bereaved heart will here find a solace for its griefs, and have its thoughts drawn away from earth to heaven.

ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

DIED.

Rev. DAVID DOUGLAS, Hamsterley, Eng., July 4, aged 60.
 Rev. CHARLES TRAIN, Framingham, Ms.
 Rev. JOHN ROGERS, Paterson, N. J., Aug. 31, aged 66.
 Rev. JAMES B. FERRELL, Halifax Co., Va., July 7, aged 45.
 Rev. DANIEL D. LEWIS, Piscataway, N. J., Sept. 25.
 Rev. B. C. HANCOCK, Chesterfield Co., Va., Aug. 28, aged 42.
 Rev. EDW. J. HELME, Newport, R. I., Oct. 7, aged 26.
 Rev. JOSEPH MORRIS, Mt. Lebanon, Edgefield District, S. C., Aug. 29.
 Rev. J. M. SYMONDS, Amesbury, Oct. 17.
 Rev. JOHN D. HART, Steamship California, July 4.

CHURCHES CONSTITUTED.

At Pinekney, Mich., June 3.
 " Millersburg, Ill., Aug. 4.
 " Lebanon, Pa., Aug. 30.
 " Dartford, Wis.
 " Sugar Grove, Ill., Aug. 28.
 " Macedonia, Ky., Aug. 11.
 " Plumstead, Bucks Co., Pa., Sept. 1.
 " Springfield, Ill., Aug. 30.
 " Graham Station, Ohio, Sept. 8.
 " Rochelle, Md., Sept. 23.
 " Petersham, Ms., May 30.
 " Larissa, Texas, July 25.
 " Detroit, Mich., Sept. 26.
 " Littleton, Ill., Sept. 15.
 " Newark, N. J., Sept. 26.

ORDINATIONS.

GEO. SANDS, Pettis Co., Mo., July 30.
 JAMES J. ROBINSON, West Fork, Mo., July 22.
 T. F. CLANCY, Delaware, N. J., Aug. 11.
 A. MOFFAT, Mt. Albon, Miss., July 27.
 WM. H. EATON, Salem, Ms., Aug. 16.
 J. H. BLAKE, Lessness, Heath, Eng.
 H. GORDON, Mercer, Ohio, Sept. 3.

DEDICATIONS.

At East Boston, Aug. 26.
 " Marion, Ala., Sept. 2.
 " San Francisco, Aug. 5.
 " Cheshire, Mass., Oct. 17.

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